

THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW.

JUNE, 1858.

ART. I.—THE WARS OF THE CAMISARDS.

1. *Jurieu*.—*Pastoral Letters*. Svo. London. 1691.
2. *Brueys*.—*Histoire du Fanatisme de Nostre Temps*. Four Vols. 12mo. Montpellier. 1709.
3. *Fléchier*.—*Lettres Choiesies de*. Two Vols. 12mo. Lyons. 1734.
4. *Carallier*.—*Memoirs of the Wars of the Cevennes*. Svo. Dublin. 1726.
5. *Anonymous*.—*Histoire des Camisards*. Two Vols. 12mo. London. 1744.
6. *Antoine Court*.—*Histoire des Troubles des Cevennes*. Three Vols. Villefranche. 1760.
7. *De Villars*.—*Vie du Maréchal le Duc de Villars*. Ecrite par lui-même. Four Vols. Svo. Paris. 1784.
8. *J. Chr. K. Hofmann*.—*Geschichte des Aufruhrs in den Cevennen*. 12mo. Nördlingen. 1837.
9. *Ernest Alby*.—*Les Camisards*. 12mo. Paris. 1858.

THE muse of history seems, as all women are said to do, to exercise much caprice in the distribution of her measure of praise and admiration. How, otherwise, are we to account for the different degrees of celebrity which have been awarded to events of at least equal interest and importance?—unless indeed we adopt Byron's harsh theory that "History's page must be purchased." Civil wars, especially, seem to be exposed to these historical caprices; and there are amongst their records instances of strange forgetfulness on the part of the world in general of noble efforts for conscience' sake, of great deeds done, of sufferings endured, of skill, valour, faith, and endu-

rance, which would, under ordinary circumstances, command admiration and respect. French history may be particularly referred to as furnishing the moral of these remarks, and the different degrees of fame which have been awarded to the sad tales of her internal dissensions, may fairly excite the surprise of those who endeavour to judge of events by their real importance, or by the purity of the motives of their agents. It has been said, for instance, by able authors, that the war in La Vendée was a "war of giants," and it certainly had considerable influence in arresting the lava flood of the early French Revolution; but the former, and now almost forgotten, wars of the Albigeois, of the Vaudois, and of the Camisards, exercised an influence as potent as the more modern one of La Vendée upon the course of contemporary events, whilst they were undertaken for a far holier cause. Their actors do but require "a wider space, an ornamented grave," to occupy a wider field in the strange pageant of history; "their hearts were not less warm, their souls were full as brave," as those of the more familiarly known heroes of modern times; and the influence of these wars upon the strange tale of the development of European civilization, has been sufficiently great to justify a much more serious attention than they receive from ordinary readers.

There is, too, something very remarkable in the frequent recurrence of these religious movements in the old Provençal districts; for even in the present century (in the years 1814, 1815, and 1816) traces of the spirit which animated both persecutors and victims of the early wars, might have been distinctly observed. The inquiry into the obscure problem of the influence of race upon prevalent religious tenets thus forces itself upon us; and indeed we suspect that its importance has not been sufficiently taken into account by those who have treated of the various episodes of Provençal history. It would be folly, we think, now to deny that each distinctly marked family of the descendants of Adam has its peculiar idiosyncrasy; and certainly the persistence of certain classes of doctrines in particular countries affords a strong *primâ facie* confirmation of the opinion that they are not either accidental or arbitrary, in their modes of exhibition. Even in the days of paganism it would appear that the Mithraic doctrines prevailed to a great extent in the "Provincia Romana;" the tenets of the Manicheans were said to have been eagerly adopted there; the Paulicians, at a very early period in the history of the Christian Church, introduced their doctrines into these regions; whilst at later periods the disciples of Peter Valdo in the twelfth century, the "poor men of Lyons" (the *Pauperes de*



*Lugduno*, as they were called), the Albigeois, the Protestants of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the still distinctly separated class of Protestants of the modern *département du Gard*, all tend to prove that there is some inherent and irrepressible desire amongst the leaders of public opinion in this particular district to turn men's minds from the consideration "of the letter which killeth, to the spirit which giveth life." No doubt this peculiar idiosyncrasy of the dwellers of the region near Marseilles, may be attributed to the existence therein of the descendants of the Phœnician and of the Greek colonies established in this favoured land at a very early period. But then the question arises, how did these original foreign races maintain their intellectual independence through all the changing scenes and the wonderful revolutions of French history, so as subsequently to impress upon the descendants of their intermixture with either the aboriginal, or the new conquering tribes, their peculiar tendency to exercise individual judgment in spiritual matters, and thus to protest against the assumption of authority in religion by the Church of Rome, which has always characterized the dwellers in "La Provence?" The story is a very remarkable one, and all its episodes are fraught with stirring interest; but as the one connected with the revolt of the Cevennes seems to be less frequently mentioned than the more generally known wars of the Waldenses, or of the Albigeois, we propose to call attention to its strange, eventful history, on the present occasion, and to reserve, perhaps, the notice of the persecutions so sanguinarily conducted by the dukes of Savoy, or by Simon de Montfort (a name well known in English parliamentary records, oddly enough), for some future article.

For several years after the pacification of France by Henri Quatre, and the close of the civil wars of the League, which were immediately followed by the promulgation of the celebrated "Edit de Nantes," designed to settle the conditions for regulating the exercise of the Protestant faith, and to place upon a satisfactory basis the relations between the central government and the synods of the great body of French Dissenters—for several years after these events had occurred, the inhabitants of the south of France appear to have enjoyed a certain tranquillity, and to have been allowed to follow the dictates of their consciences with a fair amount of toleration. They themselves also appear, with very questionable policy, to have kept aloof from the attempts of the Protestant nobles to resist the gradual extension of the royal authority under the rules of Richelieu, Mazarin, and Colbert; for in the very midst of the great struggle of the Camisards, the latter always referred to the

resistance of their ancestors to the overtures of the Duc de Rohan, in particular, as a striking illustration of their loyalty to the contemptible race of the Bourbons. The royal government, moreover, whether from policy or from fear, was long disposed to treat favourably with the Huguenots; and the legal instruments for their defence were again and again confirmed, with all due ceremonies, at the periods when the distress of the state rendered it necessary to temporize with a faction so powerful and numerous at home—so supported by the sympathy, or by the active efforts, of their foreign *co-religionnaires*. The various edicts in their favour prepared in 1562, 1598, and 1629, under the directions of such men as De l'Hôpital, De Thou, and Richelieu himself, were thus frequently repeated, and, lastly, solemnly affirmed under the name of "Edits de Grace;" and they received all the sanction which royal oaths could confer, not only from Henri IV., but from his more bigoted descendants, Louis XIII. and XIV. Indeed, after the destruction of their independent political organization by Richelieu in 1629, the Huguenots had ceased to be a powerful faction in the state, and they had turned their attention almost entirely to the cultivation of the arts of peace, so congenial to the minds of the middle classes, into whose hands the constitution of the French Protestant Church had effectually transferred the influence at first exercised by those members of the feudal aristocracy who had espoused the cause of Protestantism, perhaps rather from the knowledge that it was more opposed than Catholicism to the extension of the royal power, than from any very decided religious convictions. All the leaders of the Huguenots, it is worthy of remark, quitted their ranks after the cause of religion had ceased to be an instrument of political intrigue, and the central government had succeeded in establishing a control over the proceedings of the democratic synods and consistories of the Protestants. Conversions became the fashion during the rising and the meridian glory of *le Grand Monarque's* reign, and the desertion of the Lesdiguiers, Colignys, De la Tremouilles, of Rantzau, Turenne, the Rohan-Chabot family, Montausier, Dangeau, D'Entragues, left the Huguenot cause without the support of their most active and powerful protectors; whilst the patient loyalty of the Cevenols, and of the Rochelois, and indeed of all the Protestants of the South, during the wars of the Fronde, completed the disruption of the alliance which had previously existed between them and a fraction of the nobles. About the middle of the seventeenth century, then, Protestantism had ceased to be a permanent source of danger and uneasiness to the French government; and able, moderate politicians, like Mazarin and Colbert,

refrained from any proceedings which might have revived the bitter spirit of former times. Louis XIV., in his best days, seems likewise to have been disposed to tolerate the exercise of the Reformed religion; but when Colbert had passed away, and Louis had fallen under the influence of the Jesuits, aided by Madame de Maintenon (herself a new convert from Protestantism), he began to exhibit himself in his true colours. In 1662 an indication of the threatening storm was given by the destruction of the Protestant churches in the *Pays de Gex*, and many administrative measures were adopted by which the Protestants were made to feel that they were not considered subjects of the king upon a footing of equality with the Catholics. About 1681 Louvois invented the new style of conversion, known by the name of the *Dragonnades*, which he subsequently applied unmercifully wherever the Protestants existed in any numbers; in the Lower Languedoc, amongst other districts, about the year 1684. At length, on 22nd November, 1685, Louis XIV. signed the revocation of the "Edit de Nantes," and thus annihilated all the legal protection of his unfortunate Protestant subjects which had, nominally at least, existed during the previous persecutions.

It would be impossible to describe the ruin, misery, and suffering the French king thus inflicted, in the name of the Prince of Peace, upon a section of his subjects, who numbered at least one-twentieth of the whole population of his dominions, and were certainly amongst the most able and the most industrious members of the body politic. All the Protestants who could escape, abandoned a country in which they were no longer allowed to worship the Almighty according to the dictates of their belief; and England, Holland, Prussia, Saxony, &c., received with open arms the earnest, energetic believers, who were thus prepared to sacrifice everything for conscience' sake. It is said that during the last fifteen years of the seventeenth century, not less than 500,000 Protestants abandoned the land of their birth, and transferred their industry and capital to the nations who were so eager to supplant France in the great race of civilization. Many of the trades Colbert had fostered with such anxious care, were at once annihilated; and wide districts, then successfully cultivated, were laid desolate by the flight of their proprietors, or by the ravages of a furious and unbridled soldiery, converted for the time into Christian missionaries. Alas! that such holy causes as religion should be stained by the excesses of misguided zeal. Yet bad man as we believe Louis XIV. to have been, we are still inclined to think that he was sincere in his mistaken—fearfully mistaken—religious opinions, and that he knew well the disastrous political con-



sequences which would ensue from the enforcement of his convictions with respect to Church dogmas. Knowing all this, however, he never drew or looked back when he had put his hand to the plough of religious persecution; and so he may command a certain amount of respect for his consistency at least—even though we must bitterly reprobate the particular measures he adopted. Neither is it fair to judge of the proceedings of kings and churchmen in the latter years of the seventeenth century, by the philosophical or tolerant views of subsequent periods. In those days men still fought fiercely for the prevalence of their particular tenets; and Protestant and Catholic alike, were ill disposed to admit that their opponents could conscientiously believe differently from themselves. Startling as the proposition may sound now, we ourselves sympathize with this feeling, and can hardly understand the existence of a firm religious conviction without the existence at the same time of an equally strong feeling of intolerance. Truth, every one knows to be but one and indivisible; and, therefore, to us at least, there is nothing surprising in the indisposition of those who are firmly convinced that they hold *the* truth, to believe in the possibility of any conscientious man's arriving at different conclusions. It is for these reasons, then, that we are nearly as much disposed to pity, as we certainly are to condemn, the French monarch for his treatment of the Huguenots; but, at any rate, the very magnitude of the injury he thus inflicted upon his kingdom, must be considered to prove that he acted to the best of his belief, even if not to the best of his judgment. It cannot, indeed, be supposed that Louis XIV., who was so jealous of the intellectual supremacy of his nation, should have willingly allowed men such as Bayle, Claude, Saurin, Rapin Thorias, Jurieu, Basnage, Abbadie, Ancillon, Savigny, the Schombergs, Roumillys, the De Tarantes, De la Tremouilles, De Royes, De Boncourts, De Remeugnaes, to carry their talents, their zeal, and their passions, to the service of his own personal rivals and enemies.

One natural result of a part of the system adopted by the leaders of the persecution of the Protestants about 1685, viz., that of singling out the pastors and the leaders of the Protestant churches in France, was that it left the uneducated classes entirely at the mercy of strong-minded, but too often misguided, enthusiasts. From this wild and mountainous district of the Cevennes, the natural tendency of the meridional populations to religious exaltation had been excited to a furious degree by the proscription of the regularly ordained ministers, by the cruelties inflicted upon those who attended the public services of the Protestant Church, and by the species



of mysticism which naturally attends the celebration of worship in romantic sites under the influence of constant fear and anxiety. During the closing years of the seventeenth century, we find, indeed, that every imaginable atrocity was committed by the representatives of the "eldest son of the Church" upon the unresisting populations of these mountains: whilst their ministers were driven into exile, or silenced by the "secular arm." The poor, simple-minded mountaineers, then, naturally sought the consolations of their religion in the "assemblies in the desert," as they were called, in allusion to the biblical scenes so commonly referred to in the sacred discourses of the Calvinists; and, as might naturally have been expected under these circumstances, their unregulated enthusiasm rapidly led them to the belief in special and extraordinary communications of the Holy Spirit to some members of the flock thus suffering for conscience' sake.

During the few years which elapsed between the peace of Ryswick and the commencement of the wars of Succession, the internal history of France displays little else than a record of the atrocities committed by the royal agents: nor can we, therefore, be surprised that an explosion of hatred to the royal power should have taken place directly the foreign relations of the king had become complicated by the quarrel which set all Europe in a blaze at the commencement of the eighteenth century. So long, in fact, as the policy of Louis XIV. prevailed, there could be no security for any form, or state, of Protestantism, either in his own dominions or elsewhere; and the leaders of the coalition against him ought to have seen that an insurrection in the very heart of his possessions must constitute the most serious diversion of the forces of the French king. There are, nevertheless, few traces of foreign intervention in the great rising in the Cevennes, called the war of the Camisards; but we ourselves are morally convinced that the leaders of the refugees in England and in Holland must have retained such connexions with, and influence upon, their brethren who remained behind, and that they must have so clearly seen the importance of the diversion thus to be created, as to remove any possible doubt upon the extent of influence they must have exercised in preparing the movement, even if we acquit the English or the Dutch governments of any previous participation in, or knowledge of it. The struggle between the principles of passive obedience on the one side, and of individual examination on the other, was of so bitter and so intimate a character, so to speak, as to compel the respective leaders to adopt every possible means of securing the objects they had in view. It is not likely, therefore, that the leaders of the last coalition against

Louis XIV. should have entirely neglected to avail themselves of the unexpected assistance offered to them by the excited fanaticism of the unfortunate inhabitants of the south of France; who, in fact, were the more dangerous enemies to the common object of hatred and fear, because they had been deprived of the counsels of the ministers of their religion, who alone were able to guide and restrain their ardent feelings. Alas! how sad, but how true it is, that the promulgation of the Gospel of Peace has furnished a commentary upon the declaration of its Author, that "He came not to send peace upon the earth, but a sword!"

The particular district known by the name of the Cevennes is a mountainous district of the Lower Languedoc, in the modern departments of the Garde and the Lozère, on the right or western bank of the Rhône; and the war of the Camisards, to which we now more particularly call attention, was almost exclusively confined to the water-shed of the Gardon, and the neighbourhood of Alais and Nîmes, for the Gevaudan and the Rouergue, which formed part of the same Huguenot "colloque" with the Cevennes, properly speaking, took but a very insignificant part in the struggle. The intendant of the Languedoc about this period (the commencement of the eighteenth century) was M. Lamoignon-Bâville, a very able administrator, but a fearfully bigoted partisan of the Jesuit and Maintenon faction, who had, however, been sent in 1681 to replace Marillac, a former intendant, on account of the disgrace his cruelties had inflicted upon the Catholic cause. The bishop of the diocese of Nîmes during the whole war was the celebrated Fléchier, and it is from his letters that some of the most authentic information upon the details of this strange episode in French history is to be obtained; for the majority of the Catholic accounts of these transactions are very partial, and those attributed to Protestant authors are far from being correct. We may add, that the royal troops in the Languedoc were at first under the orders of Le Comte de Broglie; and that the royal authorities had for a long time previous to the outbreak endeavoured to prevent any such occurrence, by forming a great number of roads in the Cevennes and the Vivarais, and by erecting forts at Nîmes, St. Hippolyte, and Alais, which commanded the principal entrances to the wilder districts. M. de Bâville, indeed, seems to have had great anxieties for the tranquillity of his intendency; nor can this be a matter of surprise, when we find that he himself estimated the number of the "new converts" therein at not less than 198,483, who were dispersed amongst a total Catholic population of 1,238,927. These last were, as an additional measure of precaution, orga-

nized by M. de Bâville into fifty-two regiments of militia, for the purpose of assisting the regular troops in case of any seditious movement on the part of the Huguenots.

In November, 1697, immediately after the signature of the peace of Ryswick, Louis XIV. published a first declaration against the liberties of the Protestants of the Cevennes; twenty-one days later, a second declaration was issued, ordering a more literal observance of the pains and penalties of the decree revoking the "Edit de Nantes." In 1699, no less than four royal declarations were issued for the more effectual suppression of the "*religion prétendue réformée*," as the king and the Jesuitical faction contemptuously affected to call Protestantism. In 1700 appeared another declaration, which it may perhaps be as well to cite in some detail as an illustration of the class of measures the government, then universally allowed to be at the head of European civilization, could deliberately adopt in dealing with a large class of its subjects—"Ex uno, disce omnes." It was, in fact, nothing more than a repetition of an obsolete decree of 29th April, 1686—so fast did these instruments of persecution succeed one another, and pass from men's minds—and it provided that patients who recovered their health, after having refused the sacraments of the Catholic Church, should be condemned, the men to the galleys, the women to perform public penance, and then to be perpetually imprisoned, in both cases with confiscation of property; whilst they who died in this state of obstinate heresy were to have their bodies dragged to the common receptacle for filth and rubbish upon a hurdle. This time the royal orders were obeyed, and Jurieu mentions, with natural grief and indignation, the atrocious insults offered to the dead body of a Mademoiselle de Montalembert—how strange it must appear to us in 1858 that her name should appear in the Protestant martyrology!—by the authorities of the town of Angoulême; whilst the unfortunate ministers, and the attendants of the persecuted Church, were pursued with a persevering, relentless cruelty, alas! strikingly like that which had characterized the proceedings of the Stuarts against the Scotch Covenanters. There is a fearful record of the sufferings thus endured by the inhabitants of the Cevennes in particular, in the first chapters of both the "*Histoire des Troubles des Cevennes*," and the "*Histoire des Camisards*," in which the names of the victims, and even the punishments inflicted, are mentioned, to the eternal shame of *le Grand Monarque*. Neither Brueys, Fléchier, nor Louvreur, deny these accusations; and indeed they were far too much in the temper and spirit of the times for any reasonable doubt to exist as to their correctness. Cavallier's memoirs, however, furnish one of the most striking



pictures of the sufferings of the epoch, which in his case seem to have been nearly as much of a moral as of a physical character; nor can we, therefore, be surprised to find that the more energetic men of his persuasion were goaded into rebellion by the shameful abuses of the secular power then permitted. Even Voltaire himself, in his usual flippant style, admits the injustice and oppression to which the Cevenols were exposed before they resorted to the desperate measure of an armed rebellion; and he confirms by name some of the sad tales of martyrdom to be found in the more detailed histories to which we have above referred, although of course he could only speak of them in the contemptuous tone he usually adopted in alluding to anything noble or sacred.

The immediate occasion of the outbreak is stated by nearly all authorities to have been furnished by the attempts of the Abbé Chaila, inspector of missions in the Languedoc, to convert forcibly, or in other words to torture, a body of refugees who had been intercepted by the soldiers of M. de Bâville in July, 1702. This Abbé de Chaila had commenced his missionary career in Siam, where he narrowly escaped being made the victim of Oriental intolerance; he had in his early youth been a soldier, and he brought to his new task of converting the Huguenots all the fierce energy which might have been expected from the man who had thus learnt the modes of persuasion adapted to the circumstances he had been most frequently brought into contact with. The atrocities he committed were of a rare description even in his day—for Brueys, and Capfigue after him, have been compelled to reprobate them in spite of their earnest desire to blacken the cause of the so-called fanatics—and he had thus succeeded in rendering himself a conspicuous object for the hatred and revenge of the Protestants. It happened that in the troop of intercepted refugees De Chaila had arrested at the period above mentioned, there were the two daughters of a M. de Sexti, whose relatives had great influence amongst the Huguenots, and the abbé, instead of conveying his prisoners at once to a place of surety, took them to his own house, for reasons which it is now hard to divine. The relatives of the Demoiselles Sexti are stated to have used every means of entreaty and persuasion to save them from the ordinary fate of De Chaila's victims; but finding him inexorable, they succeeded in uniting a body of infuriated Protestants, who attacked and burnt the house in which the prisoners had been confined, released those whom the abbé had counted upon sacrificing, and slaughtered him, without, however, any of the circumstances of atrocity their persecutors had so lavished upon the unfortunate Huguenots. The anonymous author of the "*Histoire*



des Camisards" dresses up this tale with some romantic incidents for which there appears to be no authority; and Jean Cavallier, in his *Memoirs*, relates the death of De Chaila in rather different terms from those of the "*Histoire des Troubles des Cevennes*;" but there is little reason to doubt the fact that the movement which cost the abbé his life, and which opened a civil war of the fiercest character, was utterly unpremeditated, and only created by the passionate desire of the Protestants to save some marked and highly esteemed members of their persuasion who had fallen on evil days.

The murder of the inspector of missions was, however, too open and decided an attack upon constituted authorities to allow such men as MM. de Bâville and De Broglie to permit its actors to escape without at least attempting to avenge it; and the latter immediately set his troops in motion to inflict condign punishment upon the so-called heretics, availing himself of the services of a certain Captain Poul, one of the fiercest and most unprincipled leaders of the partisan warship of the age. So utterly unpremeditated, however, had been the movement which had cost De Chaila his life, that the Huguenots had not even elected a leader; and the royal troops had actually penetrated far into the country before the Reformed Cevenols had elected to that dangerous post a certain Laporte. This election is said to have taken place about August, 1702, and to have been approved by the various prophets of the persecuted sect, in a manner which added to the fanatical enthusiasm of Laporte's followers; whilst the new revolting cruelties, inflicted by the partisans of Catholicism, served indirectly to swell the numbers of the refugees. A certain M. de St. Côme appears to have rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Protestants on this score, and he shared shortly afterwards the fate of M. de Chaila, in a manner which roused the anger of M. de Bâville to the highest degree: so that what with the occasional, and paroxysmal, resistances of the Protestants, and the persevering animosity of the royal authorities, the whole of the district of the Cevennes became involved in a civil war before the end of the year; Laporte and his nephew Roland, who afterwards became the principal leader of the revolted Cevenols, serving for a long time to balance the authority, and to distract the forces, of the *Grand Monarque* himself, who was then, be it observed, engaged in the bitter and ruinous struggle of the wars of Succession. The story of the transactions in the Cevennes during the first year of their existence was, we may briefly state, of the character usually to be observed in such insurrectional movements; it consisted simply in isolated efforts of resistance, and

in occasional bursts of popular vengeance, on the one side, and in merciless repression upon the other. The principal result, however, was that the revolted Cevenols learnt how to resist organized troops; whilst the latter left fearful recollections of the tyranny and cruelty of their *régime*. MM. de Broglie and de Julien, the first commanders of the king's troops, did not, indeed, succeed in anything beyond the occasional dispersal of the Huguenot bands; but they furnished to the latter the means of learning the art of war, and of organizing their resistance under some of the leaders who afterwards were enabled to contend openly with the royal troops. In addition to Laporte and Roland, already cited as the leaders of the Huguenots, Esperandieu, Ravanel, Rastelet, and lastly Jean Cavallier, were formed in this terrible school; and they soon began to acquire sufficient skill, and to unite sufficient numbers of followers, to distract and weary the royal troops by their fierce and unexpected attacks. The tactics which the Cevenol leaders seem to have adopted in the first year of the rising were precisely of this partisan or guerilla kind: that is to say, that they wisely avoided battles in the open field unless they had the advantages of number, or of position; they only attacked isolated posts at great distances from one another; and upon receiving any check, they dispersed, to meet again at some totally unexpected spot; whilst the royal troops were harassed by continual marching and countermarching, by the necessity for maintaining garrisons in a number of isolated positions, and by the incessant combats in detail to which they were exposed. There was, however, no plan of campaign on the part of the Protestant, or even, it may be suspected, on the part of the commanders of the royal troops: on both sides the object aimed at seems to have exclusively referred to the maintenance, or the suppression, of the right of holding religious meetings, or to the destruction of the reciprocal emblems of faith and of the Catholic or Protestant places of worship; until, about the end of the year 1702, the partial successes of the Cevenols (who were afterwards better known by the name of "Camisards," the derivation of which has never been fixed) became so decided that M. de Bâville was obliged to bring the matter before the king in council, and to request M. Chamailard, the then secretary of war, to send considerable reinforcements under an officer of superior merit. In one of the last actions of the year, indeed, M. de Broglie had been actually defeated in person and wounded; whilst Captain Poul, the former terror of the Protestants, was killed in the fight. Cavallier, in his Memoirs, gives a very fair account of this action, in which he himself had no part, and he gives all the

credit to his lieutenant Ravanel, who commanded his troop in his absence ; but it is very curious, and perhaps worthy of more than a cursory remark, that Cavallier actually makes a mistake of a year in the dates he assigns to most of these actions.

M. de Broglie was succeeded in command of the royal forces in the Cevennes by a M. de Julien, who seems to have been an officer of far greater military capacity, and to have inflicted far more severe blows upon the Camisards than his predecessor had done ; but Roland and Cavallier managed to gain so many partial advantages as to balance the injury he was able to inflict upon their fellow-sufferers. The French court became at last seriously alarmed at the existence of an insurrectionary movement of this importance, in a position where the revolted peasants might so easily receive foreign support. From Voltaire's history of Louis XIV., we may also infer that the ministers of the king believed that the Protestant nations, then arrayed against him, were disposed at least to land munitions or money, upon the coast of La Provence, for the benefit of the Camisards ; and we must, therefore, cease to be surprised that at so early a period of the insurrection the court of Versailles should have felt it to be necessary to despatch to the Cevennes a force of at least 25,000 men, under the orders of M. le Maréchal de Montrevel, who was considered by Chamillard and the court to be one of the best of Louis XIV.'s generals in the second rank. The system he adopted was, if possible, more sanguinary than that of his predecessors ; and even Brueys and Fléchier describe the measures he carried into execution in terms which must fill any reader of the present day with unmitigated disgust for the man who could so basely abuse the name of religion. Moreover, although no accusation could be brought against M. de Montrevel's personal courage, he cannot be said to have displayed much generalship or tact in this particular instance ; and he certainly allowed Cavallier and Roland, who had then acquired the greatest influence amongst the Camisards, to pursue the plan they had originally adopted of attacking the king's troops, or the Catholic towns and villages, by isolated and unexpected movements, and thus of compelling them to spread their forces over a large, wild, and desolated country, in which they themselves (the Camisards) were almost certain to fight at an advantage. Like most military martinets, De Montrevel could not change his system of warfare when he came amongst the fanatic mountaineers, but he seems to have compelled his disciplined troops to act as though they were opposed to other regular troops in an open, level country ; and it cannot, therefore, be a matter of wonder that at the end of the year, although he had inflicted several very severe defeats



upon the Camisards, the latter should have found themselves even more powerful than they were at the time of his arrival. There were fearful massacres on both sides, and it is sickening to read the accounts of the burning of villages, the destruction of places of public worship, the hanging, shooting, breaking on the wheel, burning alive, torturing, and other cruel incidents of this most painful story. Almost equally revolting, too, must it be to read the cold-blooded proclamations of De Montrevel, in which he orders these atrocities, and moreover prescribes the most rigorous measures for removing children of Protestant parents from the homes and care of their parents. Alas! the ministers of the Gospel, even Fléchier himself, could approve, or at most only feebly blame, such insults to the God of mercy; and Fléchier actually cites as an object of admiration a certain hermit who threw his frock aside, and headed one of the most cruel bands of Catholic partisans. Clement XI. (the reigning Pope) was no wiser or better than his suffragans, for in May, 1703, he issued a bull, "in which," to quote Antoine Court's words, "after associating the Camisards with the Albigeois of old, he granted an absolute and general pardon of all their sins to those who would take arms, in order to massacre and exterminate *this accursed and execrable race*, in case they should fall in combat." As Court says, this was neither more nor less than an invitation to the Catholics to enter upon a crusade against the Camisards; and, to their eternal disgrace, the Bishops of Montpellier, Nîmes, Uzès, Viviers, Mende, and Alais, to whom the bull was addressed, added fuel to the flame by urging, in the pastoral letters in which they published it, their curés and vicaires "to pursue and destroy the Protestants by fire and by sword." Perhaps we may be more indulgent to the fierce uneducated soldiers of a period in which the best and most enlightened, were so awfully cruel and intolerant, and excuse to some extent M. de Montrevel; but one measure he adopted was so monstrously ridiculous that it deserves to be mentioned as furnishing an indication of the man's intellectual capacity. He actually used the divining rod for the purpose of discovering the authors of a murder committed upon a Catholic; and proceeded, merely upon its indications, to imprison and punish no less than eighteen persons. And the great Louis XIV. could intrust to a man able to give himself up to such childish superstitions the power of life and death over one and a half millions of his subjects! Can it be a matter of surprise that the latter days of the *Grande Monarque* should have been overclouded by defeat and disaster, when he deliberately selected such agents? or that, in this particular instance, the very measures adopted to suppress the



rebellion should have increased the numbers of, and the public sympathy for, the rebels? It was in vain that the Protestants appealed to their king against the iniquities of his deputies; the only reply they received was the publication of fresh decisions of the Privy Council, and "ordonnances" of Montrevel. These last attained their crowning excellence in an "ordonnance" issued in September, 1703, in which he ordered the destruction of more than 200 villages, by name, and by implication condemned to destruction no less than 466 villages or hamlets, inhabited by 19,500 persons. Such wholesale ravages must appear almost incredible to modern readers; but, unfortunately, the destruction of the Palatinat in Louis XIV.'s best days proves that he was not likely ever to allow tenderer sentiments to influence his public conduct, for good at least. Yet he was an object of respectful admiration in his lifetime, and has gone down to posterity with the name and reputation of greatness!

The ranks of the revolted Camisards were naturally filled by the unfortunate victims of De Montrevel's desolation, and they were consequently enabled to extend their operations into other portions of the Languedoc, beyond those of the Upper and Lower Cevennes, to which they were originally confined. It must always be a matter of surprise that the allies should have treated with the indifference they actually did, a diversion which might have been rendered so advantageous to their cause. Having, in fact, possession of the sea, nothing would have been easier for them than to have landed ammunition and supplies, or to have sent some of the able refugee officers to direct the military operations of the Camisards. Their attention was, indeed, called to the subject, and some weak reconnaissances were made by detached vessels of the English and the Dutch fleets; but there was no efficient combination with the rebels, nor does there appear to have been any very active desire on the part of the rulers opposed to Louis to encourage subjects to rise against their monarchs, even for conscience' sake. Perhaps there was no real harm in this neglect of the Camisards by the foreign enemies of the king; for it left the purity of their motives untarnished, and their native officers to the development of their own resources, and the fierce energy of despair. But be this as it may, Roland and Cavallier, in reply to the savage edicts of De Montrevel, performed some military excursions in the Rouergue, the Vivarais, the Gevaudan, and the Upper Languedoc, burning the Catholic churches and villages by way of reprisal, and fighting the royal troops with variable, but generally favourable, chances. In these operations, Roland acted as general-in-chief, Cavallier as the leader of an army

almost independent of him ; but, fortunately for the Camisards, there does not appear in the beginning to have existed any jealousy between these remarkable men. Remarkable, indeed, they must have been ; for Cavallier, when he assumed the command, was little above twenty years of age, and he was utterly without the advantages of education, and Roland himself was of comparatively humble origin, and totally unacquainted with the art of war, until the movement he so ably conducted broke out. It is odd, and may, moreover, be cited as an illustration of the capricious manner in which reputations are formed, that posterity has associated the name of Cavallier with all the merit of the war, whilst the fame of Roland, who really directed the operations, and kept up the organization of the Camisard forces, has been eclipsed by that of his younger and more brilliant lieutenant. It is a strange lottery, after all, that said fame, for which men dare and do so much ! In this particular case, Cavallier alone has identified himself with the glory which was to be attained, whilst the names of his colleagues Laporte, Castanet, Valmale, Catinat, Esperandieu, Rastelet, Ravanel, are now forgotten, equally with that of the gallant Roland himself ; and the history of the prophets, fanatics, and aerial voices of the Cevennes, which led those enthusiastic peasants to death or victory, has only been numbered amongst the records of the inexplicable delusions of popular imagination, by the same posterity which has awarded to Louis XIV. the name of "Great !"

The result of the campaign of De Montrevel against the Camisards in 1703 was, however, we repeat, to leave them with increased numbers and strength ; and, on the other hand, to inspire great distrust and discouragement amongst the Catholic authorities of La Provence, which they took care to urge so strongly at court against him that he was finally removed in the spring of 1704, to make room for the Maréchal de Villars, unquestionably the best officer then in the service of the French monarch. Almost upon the last day of his command, De Montrevel defeated Cavallier in a very obstinate action, and took and destroyed one of his most important magazines and hospitals in the mountains ; so that the spirits of the insurgents were sorely depressed when De Villars appeared upon the scene with great reinforcements, and with instructions from the court to put a stop to this dangerous diversion of the royal forces, at a moment when the successes of the allies under Marlborough and Eugene of Savoy began to shake the power of the monarch who had been accustomed to impose the law upon Europe. De Villars adopted at once a policy of indulgence ; and whilst preparing, in April, 1704, to carry war

into the fastnesses of the Cevennes, he entered into negotiations through M. d'Aigaliers, an influential Huguenot nobleman of the town of Uzès, with Cavallier, and some of the more important chiefs of the Camisard bands. On May 16th, 1704, a personal interview took place between the proud and noble De Villars and the peasant leader Cavallier, to the great astonishment—almost to the disgust—of the partisans of the royal cause; but the result of this condescension, and of the milder policy recommended by De Villars, was that terms were at once arranged, upon which the Camisard leader undertook not only to put a stop to the revolt, but also to raise a powerful corps of his Huguenot brethren for the service of the king. Cavallier's account of these negotiations is singularly confused, and we are certainly disposed to think with Court and Alby that he made more favourable terms for himself than he did for his colleagues—even if we exonerate him from the more serious charge of having betrayed their interests. To some extent this latter suspicion is justified by the refusal of Roland, Ravel, Catinat, and the majority of the Camisards to adhere to the terms of the compromise their young colleague had effected in their name; but the mischief had been effected, and at any rate the seeds of disunion had been sown so profoundly in the ranks of the revolted Huguenots, that De Villars was enabled easily to defeat them in detail. Cavallier left France. Roland, and five of his most devoted followers, were betrayed into the hands of the dragoons on 14th August, 1704; Roland was killed on the spot, and his companions burnt, for De Villars seems to have forgotten his unwonted clemency, as soon as he had disunited his opponents. Shortly afterwards Catinat and Ravel were defeated; and as the Camisards never succeeded in organizing a fresh nucleus for their operations after the death of Roland, and the emigration of Cavallier, the war may be considered to have been terminated by De Villars in this campaign, although the allies attempted several descents upon the coast of Languedoc, for the purpose of renewing the agitation, and a sufficient amount of uneasiness continued to prevail there to render it necessary for the French court to send the Maréchal de Berwick to succeed De Villars, when he was recalled to more active service. Must not a revolt which could thus have compelled the French court to employ in succession such men as De Montrevel, De Villars, and De Berwick, and an army of at least from twenty to twenty-five thousand men during the space of three or four years, have exercised great influence upon the success of the last coalition against the ambition of Louis XIV.?

We may close this strange tale by saying that the terms of



capitulation granted to Cavallier were soon broken, and that he was compelled shortly to seek refuge from his persecutors, by flight to the allied camp. He found an asylum, firstly, with the Duke of Savoy, then in Holland, and lastly in England; here he entered the army, and rose to the rank of major-general and governor of the island of Jersey, where he died in 1740. Many of his former companions in arms and fellow-worshippers sought the same asylum, where they continued to exercise the prophetic gifts, and to see the strange dreams, which had maintained their energy during the struggle in their native land. This created a great scandal amongst the orthodox clergy of the day, and even drew upon the unfortunate Huguenot refugees an unfair amount of ridicule; for the majority of them repudiated these exhibitions of a mistaken and misguided enthusiasm. The attempt of a Cevenol emissary, however, to murder Harley, at the very time that he was supposed to be negotiating with that minister for assistance to his persecuted brethren, seems to have given the death-blow to public sympathy in England with the Camisards. No attempt was made to introduce any stipulations in their favour in the peace of Utrecht; and we consequently find that after the year 1711 all attempts at insurrection in the Cevennes were suppressed, and that M. de Bâville, who had retained the intendance of the province throughout the disturbance, was at last able to "proclaim peace," after having, in the phrase of the old Roman, "made a perfect solitude."

The bibliography of the peculiar movement we have thus endeavoured to trace is very curious, and it merits as little as the insurrection itself the forgetfulness of later times. Fléchier's "Lettres Choiesies," and Jurieu's "Pastoral Letters," may be consulted with profit by all who are interested in the discussion with respect to the special intercourse between the Holy Spirit, and excited, because persecuted, believers. Fléchier had, on this score, reason on his side, and he very wisely does not dwell much upon the defence of the *dragonnades*, or the other atrocities of the military missionaries his Church did not hesitate to employ; whilst Jurieu, who had become the dupe of the misguided creatures who brought the Protestant cause into contempt, employed great talents in defence of a very questionable dogma, but unfortunately was justified in drawing a most heart-rending picture of the sufferings which had driven his fellow-religionists mad, and which may fairly be cited as an excuse for the excesses into which their excited imaginations subsequently led them. In their respective styles, and from their respective points of view, both these authors are worthy of careful study; but as literary compositions, of course, there



can be no comparison between the florid, refined elegance of the Catholic bishop, and the harsh, turgid language of the refugee pastor. Brueys' "Histoire du Fanatisme" is ably written, though it is utterly unworthy of attention as a record of the events it describes; because the author, who was himself a new convert to Romanism, put into his history all the passion and prejudice of a bigot, and so suppressed all that told in favour of his adversaries, whilst he glossed over the atrocities committed by those whom he himself admired. Still the "Histoire du Fanatisme" is curious, and should be read as a corrective to the equally faithless Protestant "Histoire des Camisards." This last-named work is little better than a romance upon the subject, and yet it is about as worthy of belief as Eugene Sue's novel entitled "Jean Cavallier," although it is written in far better taste than the latter very feeble production. Cavallier's Memoirs are curious illustrations of the personal vanity of the man, a defect which Court de Gebelin and Voltaire rather more than insinuate against him; and they certainly are drawn up in a style little in accordance with modern taste. They were published under Cavallier's name, and as his own production; but it is generally believed that they were written, at his dictation, by a refugee minister of the name of Galli, and are at present so entirely forgotten, that they can very rarely be met with. But the best account we have met with of this Camisard war is unquestionably Antoine Court's "Histoire des Troubles des Cevennes;" notwithstanding a certain amount of awkward heaviness and an affected verbosity, with which it may be reproached, it is the most conscientiously written, and the fairest account of these troubles, and may be safely consulted by those who are unable to wade through the extraordinary mass of contemporary histories or memoirs, such as those of De Villars, De Berwick, Voltaire, La Baumelle, Lamberti, St. Simon, Dangeau, Pelisson, Larrey, or the more recent works of Capefigue, Sismondi, &c., in which reference is made to the now almost forgotten struggle of the Camisards against the overwhelming power of *le Grand Monarque*. A great amount of curious and highly interesting information with respect to the history of the Protestant persecutions about the period of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes is also to be found in M. C. Weiss's "Histoire des Refugiés Protestants" (Paris, 2 vols., 8vo., 1853); and, incidentally, this remarkably well-written book contains many allusions to the war of the Cevennes. The student of history, however, who would desire to trace all the causes and effects of these movements, must carry his researches still further, and consult the numerous controversial publications of the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the

eighteenth century, to Hoffmann and Alby's histories, and to Bungener's admirable tales; for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes affected the whole Christian community of Western Europe in so extraordinary a manner, that all the contemporary literature of the period, and much of that of recent Protestant authors, of a political or polemical character at least, have assumed a tone and character dependent upon the impressions produced by that event upon the respective authors' minds. The moral of the whole tale may, however, be briefly stated by saying that persecution and violence are the worst imaginable weapons for combating religious convictions; and, especially, that the atrocious measures the Jesuitical directors of the conscience of the worn-out debauchee Louis XIV., induced that monarch to adopt in his dotage, tended greatly to the ruin of the royal power he had so carefully founded in his younger and brighter days. It is very strange that the descendant of one of the Huguenot families of Nîmes, Rabaut de St. Etienne, should actually have been the president of the National Assembly which destroyed the throne of the Bourbons! as though the sins of the grandfather were designed by an all-wise but inscrutable Providence to be directly expiated by the descendant,—and although it were indeed a law that, in such cases, the avenger of the royal murders should arise from the very bones of his victims, or, in the words of Virgil, that the butchered Camisards should be able to cry, "*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor!*"

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#### ART. II.—THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

1. *A Pastoral Letter to the Parishioners of Frome.* By the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, M.A., Vicar. London: Masters. 1852.
2. *A Pastoral Letter.* No. 2. London: Whittaker & Co. 1857.

WE select these from among numerous productions of the same school, because the circumstances of their author's former position, and of his removal from the diocese of London, have made him conspicuous as a faithful adherent and advocate of his party.

The "pastorals" before us are of very small bulk, and will be judged by many as of yet smaller controversial weight; yet they may deserve some attention and notice, as representative of opinions which are widely and diligently diffused.

It is not difficult to perceive how the dogma of visible unity,

or ecclesiastical uniformity, sprang up early and then mightily grew, among professed Christians. The love of power, of power individually, and of power as residing in the corporate community to which we belong and are attached—a feeling inherent in human nature, and generally proportionate to the strength and worldly influence of that community—may amply account for this.

It distinctly accounts for the framing and maintenance of the Papacy—a system based on the theory of one sole and uniform Church. It explains also the aversion of every hierarchy to relinquish the same kind of notions, even when they have become logically quite untenable, by the fact of ecclesiastical separateness on the part of those who still labour to defend them. To allege that the separation of the Episcopal Church of England from the Roman Catholic Church is entirely right, and that yet other separations from this Church of England are utterly wrong, is to set up a contrast of cases where there is but a difference; and where no one man or body of men can decide for another whether the difference of the cases be so great as to render nonconformity culpable.

Martin Boos, Savonarola, Jansenius, Pascal, Fénelon, Quesnel, and many other devout men, did not quit the communion of the Church of Rome. They might and did, quite as conscientiously, though with as little reason, impute schism and heresy to the Anglican body, as many of that body impute them to other separatists.

If the Church of Christ must be visibly and externally one—that is, if uniformity of government and communion be indispensable to real unity, then it is clear as daylight, and indeed is but the same proposition in other words, that differing communions within the Church cannot exist. Yet zeal for “orthodoxy,” love of power, *esprit de corps*, and dislike of those whose separation seems to reprove the conduct as well as disclaim the authority of the party whom they leave, have concurred to prompt a pertinacious defence of the self-confuting tenet,—that external absolute unity admits of several communions, more or less differing from each other.

One would think it incontestable, that those who believe the Romish, the Anglican, and the Greek Churches, which so materially differ, to be within the Church universal, are debarred from holding separation to be in itself a proof of schism, or destructive of what is scripturally meant by Christian unity.

Yet, for the reasons already offered, we are not surprised that such arguments have been urged with adroitness and plausibility, and sometimes with apparent success.

The belief of verily doing God service, combined with an



instinctive assurance that our party and ourselves must be wholly in the right, and with the desire of retaining wealth and distinction in that party, and more or less of sharing them, will naturally give rise to such attempts, although as a matter of mere and simple reasoning they should be somewhat hopeless. And the more complete training for disputation acquired in the scholastic establishments of a great and powerful community, the capacity for special pleading thus attained, the erudite and acute pleas which the motives before-named have made it so well worth while to elaborate, are sure to produce impression, and to have frequently a semblance of truth and a show of triumph. The reasoners of a dignified and learned body, even when they take up positions not defensible, have still a portion of its overweighing authority and influence—at least for those who belong to it—conveyed into their arguments, and even into their affirmations. And although the increasing intercourse of travel with foreign religious communities in France, Switzerland, and Germany, in Holland, Sweden, Norway, or Russia, might be thought likely in our days to moderate high notions of the dominant importance of the Church of England (and of any other particular Church), it does not seem to have, on a certain order of minds, any such effect. Not a few, after seeing Christianity around them, in other lands, under the secondary forms of Lutheranism, Presbyterianism, &c., still continue as strongly as ever to assert for their own Anglican body the exclusive character of the true Church; except that, by a singular paralogism, they admit as portions of that true Church those Greek and Romish hierarchies, which refuse to recognise either them or each other.

We do not attribute to the vicar of Frome, in his small essays of this kind, any prevalence of the secular motives by which some such polemics have been actuated. Nor do we, on the other hand, discover in his writings any eminent share of that acuteness and dexterity which some controvertists have evinced.

His pamphlets are placed at the head of this article merely as small specimens—authenticated by his name and office—of what the party is just now producing. The reading or remembrance of Church history must be very defective, where it is unknown or forgotten that such a theory has been upholden in England ever since the Reformation began; each age having had its advocates for the Divine right of diocesan episcopacy, the exclusive claims of the Anglican Church, and the great sin of separation from it.

Without going back to earlier dates, the history of Archbishop Laud, and the writings of Andrews, Sacheverel, Hickes,

and Dodwell, may afford abundant proof how those tenets were urged.

Bishop Burnet writes: "Dodwell maintained that none could be saved but those who by the sacraments had a federal right to it; and to this he added, that none had a right to give the sacraments but those who were commissioned to it. These were the apostles, and after them bishops, and priests ordained by them. It followed upon this, that sacraments administered by others were of no value. The invalidity of ecclesiastical functions when performed by persons not episcopally ordained was entertained by many with great applause. This made the Dissenters pass for no Christians. Several little books were spread about the nation, to prove the necessity of rebaptizing them, and that they were in a state of damnation till that was done."\*

He afterwards remarks: "Dodwell's extravagant notions, which have been too much drunk in by the clergy in my time, have weakened the power of the Church, and soured men's minds more against it, than all the books wrote, or attempts made against it, could ever have done. And, indeed, the secret poison of those principles has given to many of the clergy a bias towards Popery, with an aversion to the Reformation."† In another work the same bishop writes: "What can be said of those who are already going into some of the worst parts of Popery? It is well known, that in practice, the necessity of auricular confession, and the priestly absolution, with the conceit of the sacrifice of the mass, are the most gainful parts of Popery. The independence of the Church on the State is also so contended for, as if it were on design to disgrace our Reformation. The indispensable necessity of the priesthood to all sacred functions is carried, in the point of baptism, further than Popery. What will all these things end in? And on what design are they driven? Alas! it is too visible."‡ Elsewhere he observes, on the same topic: "This not only cuts off all communion with the foreign Churches, of which perhaps they make no great account, but makes doubtings to arise with relation to great numbers both among ourselves and in the Roman communion."§ Such sentiments, in their full-blown development, are to be found in the "Rehearsal," by Charles Leslie; (the author of "A Short Method with the Deists," &c.) Thus: "If I am baptized by a schismatic, I am baptized into his schism

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\* Burnet's own Time, vol. ii. p. 604, folio edition.

† Ibid., vol. ii. p. 640.

‡ Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii., Introduction, p. xiii., Nares's edition.

§ Ibid., Preface, vol. iii. p. xiv.

and made a member of it. The children of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, were swallowed up with them. If we will hazard ourselves, let us have some compassion for our innocent children.—I am to lay out his sin (namely, the Dissenter's) before him in its proper colours, to let it appear as black and heinous as it is, that he flatter not himself in his own sight until his abominable sin be found out."\*

More recently a variety of books—among which we mention Le Mesurier's Bampton Lectures, "On the Nature and Guilt of Schism," and Daubeny's "Guide to the Church," as happening to be in our hands—have defended, though generally in more guarded terms, opinions substantially the same.

All this was prior to what has been called the "Tractarian" movement. It shows that the same theory was variously and voluminously contended for, long before that movement arose.

The recent Oxford Tracts, and their ecclesiastical results, are only a more prominent and active advocacy of principles long since maintained; and always directed to prove that the true unity resides within this realm in the Anglican Church alone. Certainly, some small pamphleteers of this school have at least rivalled, if not outshone, those of the reign of Queen Anne. One of these tracts is before us, which, among "Twenty-four strong Reasons why I dare not become a Dissenter," offers the following: "Because the Dissenting teachers misbelieve, and wilfully, or ignorantly, pervert, misinterpret, and misapply the Bible. And as all the Dissenting teachers of all the sects are entirely destitute of Divine, apostolical, and scriptural ordination, and are therefore not ministers at all, but only usurpers and mere pretenders, I dare not, with the dreadful fate of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and their deceived adherents, before my eyes. What they wish to pass off as sacraments are just no sacraments at all, but only mere imitations of the true sacraments of Christ, and highly offensive in the sight of God, and dangerous to the souls of men. I dare not become a Dissenter, because Dissent is open and daring rebellion against the Most High. That God views it in this light is evident, from the fate of those old dissenters, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and those who sided with them. I dare not, because of the notorious and utter disloyalty of the Dissenters in general—because the principles of Dissent are of a highly immoral and licentious character and tendency—because Dissent is very oppressive upon the poor—because the principles of Dissent, if fully and consistently acted upon, would entirely destroy the Church of Christ, and utterly abolish Christianity from the face of the

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\* Rehearsal, vol. ii., No. 4, Oct. 22, 1707.



earth.”\* Again, in a “Doctrinal Catechism of the Church of England,” we find these queries and answers: “Who appoints Dissenting teachers? They either wickedly appoint each other, or are not appointed at all.—But are not Dissenting teachers thought to be very good men? They are often thought to be such, and so were Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, till God showed them to be very wicked.”†

If any persons fail to discern the justness of these assertions, and the clearness of the analogy and soundness of the inference from the cases of Korah and his company to those of Howe, Henry, Baxter, Melancthon, Owen, Brainerd, Francke, Claude, Saurin, Bunyan, Watts, Doddridge, Chalmers, and many others, it is not for want of the iteration of the same assertions and the same argument, even from the days of the Nonjurors to our own.

The reverend author of these pastoral letters refrains, however, from going into such details. He only warns all dissidents that “they are rending the body of Christ, which is the Church. They break its unity. They destroy its love” (p. 29). Yet he charitably assures them, that whether they be “leaders of schism or followers, deceivers or deceived, our only weapon must be prayer” (p. 33); and even adds, “They must not think that there is thereby implied any breach of charity, any feeling of anger, or any desire of penal loss to be inflicted by the Church, out of whose broken unity they have gone forth” (p. 30).

But the attempt at proving that true unity resides within this realm in the Anglican Church alone, in whatever form it be made, must, as we have said, destroy and refute itself, except it unchurches all other communions in Christendom. The vicar of Frome himself happens unintentionally to set that consequence in its strongest light, by this small axiomatic clause in his second letter: “The Church is not two bodies, but one” (p. 30), thus proclaiming *duality* (how much more plurality), with *any difference*, fatal to his notion of true unity.

Suppose only the Anglican and the Roman, or only the Anglican and the Greek Churches to exist: even this fact would be destructive of his theory, “for the Church is not two bodies, but one.” Well, therefore, may the reverend editor of “The Old Church Porch” adopt for some pages of his periodical that plaintive heading, “The Church’s broken unity.” No doubt this phrase is meant to designate the breach made by the sects whom he regards as broken off and severed from the Church of

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\* “Twenty-four Reasons, &c., by L. G. E. Fifth edition, making in all forty thousand copies.” Groombridge, 5, Paternoster Row.

† Pp. 27, 28. Wertheim, 14, Paternoster Row.

Christ, such as the Scottish Kirk, the foreign Presbyterians, and all Congregationalists; but if none of these existed, the phrase would be more apposite to that state of things when only the Anglican Church and one other differing from it, yet admitted by him to be a Church, were co-existing. That might be more strictly and grammatically termed by him, "*The Church's broken unity.*" It would be a broken unity *within* the Church; and directly contradictory to the axiom, "*The Church is not two bodies, but one.*" We submit to the reverend vicar the logical necessity of reconstructing his theory, and maintaining the Anglican Church to be the *only* true Church.

Thus "*the Church's broken unity,*" as far at least as it respects diversity of name and communion, would no longer exist for him.

It would seem, indeed, from some expressions in the second pastoral letter, that towards this its author sometimes almost inclines. In the former he writes, "If the Church of Rome be the true Church in Italy, a man in Italy must remain in her (the Church being one), or else he is guilty of schism." "If, again, the Church of England be the true Church in England (and you would not deny that), then a man born in England, if he were to go out of her, would be guilty of schism" (pp. 22, 23).

But in the second letter he classes together, "all those who dissent from the Church, whether Romanists or schismatics of any other kind" (p. 51). If this indeed be intended in some other sense than as implying that English Romanists are schismatics, it is not or would not be more a departure from the usual rules of language than another passage in this same production, where the writer speaks of "those two great evils which molest our parish, schism and sin" (p. 26); and then in the next page, referring to "the very great number of Dissenters," laments "that so many are thus found in open schism, for it is that grievous sin against which we pray in our litany" (p. 27). If Dissent be that grievous sin, it is a singular division of topics to treat of schism *and* sin.

Afterwards the reverend writer speaks of "these two great classes, namely—the Dissenters, and the open and scandalous sinners" (p. 35).

Yet, since the Dissenters "are found in open schism" and therefore "in grievous sin," as has been previously alleged by him, they must be sinners quite as openly, if not quite as scandalously, as the rest.

But, waiving this, and reverting to Mr. Bennett's view of the true Church, it would appear that on the whole it is defined in his judgment by territory. An Englishman is a member of it when at Dover; but becomes, in about two hours, a schismatic

when arrived at Calais. It would appear to us a much more simple and less embarrassing system, to claim for his own Anglican Church that it is the true Church exclusively, and wait in hope for that happy day when both the Protestant and Romanist schismatics of all lands shall be gathered into this one fold.

It must no doubt be also confidently hoped, that the primate of that day will not give occasion to such a stricture as we find in this pastoral, where it is said that in reference to "the doctrine of the real presence," "we seemed to be well nigh discomfited by the decision of the archbishop of the province."\*

For the present, even after that simplifying of the theory which we venture to suggest, there would remain this considerable difficulty—how to reconcile with an unbroken unity those variations and alienations which are found *within* the Anglican pale; which are rather obvious (even were all so-called schism swept away) in the place of Mr. Bennett's own labours; where the incumbent of a contiguous district holds opinions so opposed to those of the vicar, that they never mutually officiate, and that their respective congregations, as well as the pastors, impute to each other most serious errors. The Dissenters, in contemplating that state of things, will be apt to discern a peculiar propriety in the vicar's phrase above cited, "the Church out of whose broken unity they have gone forth." It appears paradoxical as coming in such circumstances from such a quarter, that in the second letter we find these remarks: "Reasonable allowance it is thought right to make for old associations which may attach persons to one church or ministry, in reference to another; but each person, having made his choice, should abide by it. To whichever of the churches any one belongs of right, or attaches himself by his own choice, there alone should he seek the sacraments, the privileges, and the instruction which he needs." (pp. 2, 3).

To reconcile this with the well-known fact, that in another church of the same town, the vicar's opinions on the sacraments are the object of what he has termed "heretical attack" (p. 30), we must leave to the reverend author's ingenuity.

The truth is, that such a theory or scheme of unity cannot, even by more masterly disputants than Mr. Bennett, be ever made consistent with itself. Not even the Romanist can successfully pretend to such unity; as Bishop Jewel's "Apology," Bishop Stillingfleet's "Treatise on the Divisions of the Roman Church," and Dr. Edgar's "Variations of Popery," abundantly show.

And if not the Romanist, how much less those of whom

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\* Pastoral Letter II., p. 50.



Bishop Jewel writes, "We have separated ourselves from that Church which our opponents call Catholic."

The true theory of Christian unity must be, that it subsists in all those who, under whatever forms, or in whatever community, are influenced by the same spirit of grace, exercising vital faith in the one Saviour, and brotherly kindness towards all in whom His image is discernible. The Anglican, or any other Christian, may fairly believe and profess that his form of Church government and communion is the best, the most primitive, the most perfect, the most profitable; but when he proceeds to attempt to unchurch others, whether in his own or other lands, he arrogates a power from which charity and common sense alike revolt; and makes a pretension which, in the eyes of many, appears simply ludicrous.

It may be fitly rebuked in the words of an excellent clergyman of the same Church, who writes, "Nothing is more to be deprecated than that Christianity should be petrified in an idolatrous obeisance to uniformity, to prevent which, it may be judged, uniformity was, at the Reformation, *providentially* rendered almost as impracticable as Judaism was upon the destruction of Jerusalem and expatriation of its people. It might also be suggested, that notwithstanding the evils arising from the contests of the *formal zealots of all parties*, the various social classes have been better reached by various agencies, than it is likely that they could have been by that of one unalterable character. In the second place, a practical exhortation may be addressed to all who grieve for the divisions of the Church of Christ, and justly believe that they are attended by much that must scandalize the world. It may be said to them, Let it be admitted that sin and folly have had their share in producing *some* of these divisions; still remains the question, Which is the best way of acting with regard to them, in order that the Church of Christ may be exhibited, or rather, may reflect its Lord's image, as fairly as possible? Is it by alleging extravagant claims in behalf of some one section of the general Church? Is it by contending against the very note and token given by our Lord, 'Ye shall know a tree by its fruits,' and by asserting that whatever may be its good fruits, such a community *is not within the pale*; and whatever may be its bad fruits, such an one *can never be without it*? No. There is but one method of mitigating the *asperities* of the outlines which sever us. It is, to choose that community which, in the sight of God, you judge to be best for your own soul, and having joined it, to do your utmost in there maintaining that truth which is the only chain along which the fire of life and light is conducted; and looking evermore beyond the instrument to its

end, not to commend your choice by assumptions and denunciations, but by the lovely holiness of your conduct. It is not, indeed, maintained that, by professing Christians acting with this aim, all differences would be done away. The *desirableness* of that at present is very doubtful; because it is certain, that there is no one community fitted by its spirit or its organization to do the work of all. But it is maintained, that our very distinctions in opinion and in operation would more highly illustrate the force and spirit of those mighty principles which unite us as brethren in different compartments of the same field; it is maintained, that Christianity would acquire a new persuasive charm, and that in looking upon our UNITY IN DIVERSITY, the most worldly-minded man might be tempted to repeat, 'How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel.'"<sup>\*</sup>

Sentiments as truly Christian and catholic as these, are in some instances adopted and practically exemplified on both sides. Hauteur on the one part, and jealousy on the other, with different forms of mutual prejudice, are in those cases, to a great extent, discarded; and we have ground to entertain the hope that such examples are in some quarters growing more frequent.

In proportion to their number and sincerity alone, can that only real and practicable unity subsist, where agreement on the great cardinal or fundamental doctrines and facts of our religion, is combined with cordial regard, or candid esteem, among those who on secondary points yet differ. This also would most effectually discountenance the very phantom-like invention and pretence of unity set up by such semi-Protestant writers as we have here referred to. Some clerks, deep in patristic learning, and exact in dress and ritual, with many ladies fully under their guidance, may confidently rejoice in the self-laudatory persuasion that they and theirs alone constitute the true Church, and monopolize God's covenanted mercies. But intelligent laymen will take such an assumption at its real worth. Foreign Protestant Christians will still justly satirize such a system as "Popery Beheaded;"<sup>†</sup> while pious British Nonconformists, it is hoped, will not render railing for railing, nor be moved, except sometimes to smiles, by the warnings and accusations of those who are, equally with themselves, under the ban and anathema of Rome.

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<sup>\*</sup> Church of Christ Pourtrayed, by the Rev. C. J. York, Rector of Shenfield, p. 158.

<sup>†</sup> Le Papisme Décapité.

## ART. III.—BALZAC.

*Balzac : sa Vie et ses Œuvres, d'après sa Correspondance.* Par Mme. L. Surville (née De Balzac). Paris : Libraire Nouvelle, Boulevard des Italiens, 15. 1858.

FEW romance writers of modern times have been more fertile and popular than Balzac ; and yet there have been few whose literary history presents so much that is melancholy and painful. Endowed with a prodigious memory, an almost miraculous faculty of observation, a subtle power of analysis, and an exuberant imagination, these great gifts were unusually slow in attaining maturity, and their possessor had written no less than thirty romances before they were fully developed. “*Les Chouans*,” written in La Vendée, close to the theatre of the events which it describes, was the first work which revealed to the public the mine of wealth stored up in the mind of its author, who was then in his twenty-ninth year. From that period, however, his success was rapid, and his reputation steadily increased with the publication of “*La Physiologie du Mariage*,” “*La Peau de Chagrin*,” “*Eugénie Grandet*,” and a crowd of other tales and romances. He was a bold and true painter of the manners of modern society, laying bare its vices and corruptions with an unsparing hand ; in his most elaborate work, “*La Comédie Humaine*,” which is divided into eight series, and contains upwards of three thousand characters, he has aspired to place at once upon the stage the whole circle of modern society, in all its varied and complicated aspects. In point of fertility, Sir Walter Scott and the elder Dumas are the only modern novelists who can be compared to Balzac. The splendid Houssiaure edition of his works contains ninety novels and romances, and represents more than a hundred and twenty volumes of ordinary size. Balzac had much of that eccentricity of character and conduct which seems so often to be combined with remarkable literary or artistic genius, and presents one of the most animated and irregular literary physiognomies of his day, full of originality and contrast. It was therefore to be expected that, after his death, many stories would be in circulation with regard to the life and habits of one so personally remarkable, and who had occupied so large a space in the public eye ; and it is in order to present us with a true delineation and accurate portraiture of her accomplished brother, freed from the fables of the idle and unthinking, and the aspersions of the malicious, that his favourite sister, Mdme. de Surville, has published the unpretending but most interesting little volume which we have



placed at the head of the present article. Following its narrative, we shall now endeavour to place before our readers a sketch of the life and works of the great novelist.

Balzac was born at Tours on the 16th of May, 1799, the fête day of St. Honoré, after whom he was named by his father. His sister describes him as an engaging child, with a smiling and finely chiselled mouth, large brown eyes, a lofty forehead, and thick black locks. His father had been an advocate during the reign of Louis XVI., and the stormy scenes of the great French Revolution. Later in life, he retired to Tours, where he lived for nineteen years on a property which he had bought in the immediate neighbourhood of the town. He was highly respected by all who knew him for his wisdom and kindness of heart. Withal he was a great original; his favourite hobby was the preservation of health; and he entertained an idea, which has been advanced by a recent writer, that human life, if properly arranged, ought to extend to a hundred years and more. To attain this more, he took extraordinary pains, and was unceasingly on the watch to establish what he termed "the equilibrium of the vital forces." His care was in some degree successful; for he had attained the age of eighty-three, when he died from the effects of an accident in 1829. At one time in affluent circumstances, he was in later life, from failures and other misfortunes, reduced to comparative indigence. His memory, spirit of observation, and readiness of repartee, were very remarkable, and Mdme. Surville tells us that his wise and varied conversation, and curious anecdotes, not only instructed his celebrated son in the science of life, but also furnished him with the subject of more than one of his books. The mother of Balzac was the daughter of the director of hospitals in Paris. She was handsome and rich, and much younger than her husband; and was distinguished for great vivacity of spirit and imagination, indefatigable activity, a rare firmness of decision, and unlimited devotion to her family. It thus appears that, if talent be hereditary, the great qualities of Balzac were the natural and logical consequence of those of his parents. He inherited the originality, the memory, and the faculty of observation of his father, the fertile imagination and activity of his mother, and the energy and kindness of heart of both. When still very young, he gave proof, in the childish games in which he engaged with his brothers and sisters, of that rich fancy which was afterwards to produce such abundant fruit, by improvising little comedies for their amusement. At seven years old he was sent to the College of Vendôme, then a very celebrated seminary, where he remained for seven years,

without in any way distinguishing himself. To his professors, he appeared an idle and careless boy ; but, nevertheless, during these seven years, he had read, unknown to them, a great part of the books in the rich library of the college. His health and spirits, however, suffered so much from this vast and miscellaneous reading, that he was obliged to leave college and return to his family, when the country air and their society soon restored him to his usual health and vivacity.

In 1814, Balzac's father was called to Paris, to undertake the direction of the commissariat of the 1st military division, and his son accompanied him in order to complete his studies ; in doing which, he was not more successful or distinguished, than he had formerly been at the College of Vendôme. Afterwards, he attended the eloquent prelections of Villemain, Guizot, and Cousin, and studied in the public libraries, in order the better to profit by their instructions. Even at this early age, he had a great love for books ; and, by picking up rare and curious works at the book-stalls on the quays, commenced the foundation of that splendid library, which, in after years, he succeeded in rendering so complete. At this period, the parents and friends of Balzac seem to have regarded him as rather a dull stupid lad, and to have had no idea whatever of the hidden genius that lay slumbering within him ; and their astonishment and incredulity would probably have been excessive, had any one then told them that he would yet be so celebrated, that the street in which he lived would afterwards bear his name. Balzac's father destined him for the profession of a notary, in order that he might be able to enter into an advantageous partnership, which had been offered to him, and which would speedily secure ease and independence. Honoré, accordingly, went through a complete course of legal studies, and, at the age of twenty-one, had finished his law course and passed all the necessary examinations. His father then for the first time announced to him his intentions with regard to his future career, which were entirely distasteful to the son, who had fixed his mind on obtaining distinction in the world of letters, and who saw in the proposed partnership an end to all his visions of literary fame. A warm discussion ensued between the father and son, which ended in the partnership scheme being abandoned, and in Balzac's receiving two years during which to vindicate his vocation for literature. This dislike to the law and choice of a literary career, gave great distress to the family and friends of Balzac, and one of the latter declared that the young man was good for nothing but to be put into some bureau as a copying clerk, as the only accomplishment he possessed was that of a fine hand. Balzac exclaimed, on hearing

this harsh sentence, "*Je donnerai un dementi à cet homme ;*" and, when his future celebrity had effectually done so, he further revenged himself by dedicating to him one of his best works.

Balzac's mother naturally enough imagined that a little experience of the misery and poverty of the life which he had selected, would soon bring him to acquiesce in the wishes of his family ; and, accordingly, upon their departure from Paris, she installed him in a garret near the Library of the Arsenal. This apartment was furnished in the most meagre manner, with only a few chairs and a table ; while the allowance given to the young *littérateur*, was barely sufficient to provide him with the necessities of life. An old servant, for twenty years attached to the service of the Balzac family, was, however, left in Paris by his mother, and charged to keep an eye upon him. The transition from the abundance and variety of his paternal home to a miserable solitary chamber, destitute of every comfort, was trying enough ; but Balzac, at length at liberty to follow the bent of his own inclinations, and buoyed up by hopes of future success, never complained. From this date commences his correspondence with his sister, now Mme. de Surville, which has been carefully and tenderly preserved, and which furnishes the best means of understanding and appreciating the character of its author. At this time, he meditated a vast number of works, chiefly dramatic ; he had not yet discovered where lay the true strength of his genius. After much hesitation, he at length determined to make his literary *début* by writing a tragedy upon the history of Cromwell ; and the letters in which he details his doubts and difficulties, his aspirations and trials, to his favourite sister, are full of interest. They are perfectly unaffected, and contain an evident outpouring of his whole mind to one who loved him truly and sympathized in all his hopes and anxieties. Most of his letters at this period are full of the gaiety of youth, but sometimes graver thoughts mingle with his juvenile spirits. In one he thus writes : " I have left the Jardin des Plantes for the Père Lachaise. The former is too sad. In my walks through the latter I find many an inspiration, many a reflection on sorrow useful for *Cromwell*. True grief is so difficult to depict—it requires so much simplicity ! Decidedly there are no epitaphs so beautiful as those here—La Fontaine, Masséna, Molière. A single name, which says everything, and sets one a-dreaming ! "

In April, 1820, the tragedy of "*Cromwell*" was finished, and Balzac repaired to his father's house full of joy, and counting upon a certain triumph. It was read before the assembled family and their friends, an ancient professor of the Ecole Polytechnique acting as judge. On the close of the reading, the



professor solemnly declared that the young author might excel in anything except literature. Balzac received this severe sentence unflinchingly, with the remark, "Tragedies are not my *forte*, that is all," and then resumed his literary labours; but he was so emaciated by fifteen months of his garret life, that his mother would not permit him to return, but retained him at home in order to watch over his health. During the next five years, he composed more than forty volumes, which he, however, considered as imperfect attempts, so that those which were published appeared anonymously, in order that they might not bring discredit upon the family name, and he could never afterwards be persuaded to avow them. In the meantime, his sisters were married, and left the paternal roof, and Balzac recommenced his correspondence with Mme. de Surville; he seems, indeed, to have been accustomed to open his mind to her more fully than to any other human being, and she probably does not say too much, when she asserts in her preface, that she alone is in possession of the materials requisite for presenting to the public an exact biography of her celebrated brother.

Although Balzac was successful in getting some of his early romances printed, he yet made nothing by them. He was unknown in the literary world, and had no powerful protectors or friends, so that the road to fame and fortune was to him steep and difficult of ascent. Longing to escape from the trammels in which he was held in his father's house, and from the constant pain of hearing his abilities undervalued, and his career disparaged, he looked around him for some rapid means of acquiring that wealth, which would enable him to carry on his literary projects in ease and freedom. Hence arose the embarrassments which embittered the whole of his future existence, and weighed him down with a burden of debt, which hung like a millstone about his neck; so that—like Scotland's greatest novelist—the latter part of his career presents a melancholy and painful picture of life worn out, and the very heart and spirit exhausted, in efforts to pay off manfully and fully the debts in which he had become involved by unfortunate pecuniary speculations.

Balzac was twenty-five years old when, induced by the counsels of a friend who also furnished him with the necessary funds, he commenced his search after fortune. His first speculation was as a publisher, and his first publication was the complete works of La Fontaine and Molière in a single volume. The jealousy and opposition of rival publishers rendered this enterprise unsuccessful, and Balzac gained by it nothing but debt. He next became the owner of a printing establishment, to which he subsequently added a type foundry, acquired, partly

with borrowed money, and partly by the assistance of his family; but the expense of carrying on these joint undertakings was great, and they failed for want of the requisite funds, at the very moment when their possession might have secured success. Balzac was consequently obliged to sell them much below their value, and the lucky purchaser afterwards realized from them a handsome fortune. The result was, that at twenty-nine, he possessed nothing but his debts and his pen—a pen whose powers were then unknown.

In 1827, appeared his romance of "*Les Chouans*" which at length attracted some favourable notice from the press and the public. It was speedily followed by "*Catherine de Médicis*," one of his best, though not best known, works, which shows to what a height its author might have risen as an historical novelist. Balzac was an enthusiastic admirer of Sir Walter Scott, not only on account of the ability which he had displayed in obtaining the public favour, but also for the fertility and power which he had exhibited in maintaining his claims to it. Among his works, he particularly admired "*Quentin Durward*," although he thought that Sir Walter had there misrepresented Louis XI., a monarch whose character he considered imperfectly understood, and whom he afterwards brought upon the stage in his romance of "*Maître Cornelius*." At one time, Balzac entertained the idea of illustrating the manners and progress of his native country by a series of historical romances; but soon abandoned this project, and determined rather to depict the manners of his own time. He entitled his works "*Etudes de Mœurs*," and divided them into series: "*Scènes de la Vie Privée*"—"de la Vie de Campagne"—"*de la Vie de Province*"—"de la Vie Parisienne," &c.; but it was not till 1833, about the time of the publication of his "*Médecin de Campagne*," that he conceived the idea of combining all his characters, in order to form a complete whole. His ambition was to depict the entire range of modern society, and construct with his own hands a work which should correspond to, and embrace every phase of human existence. "The day," says Mme. de Surville, "when this idea flashed upon his mind was a happy day for him." He rushed off to communicate the fortunate conception to his favourite sister, and, on arriving at her residence, joyously exclaimed, "Congratulate me. I am in the fair way to become a genius. He then unfolded to us his plan, which at first alarmed us a little; vast as was his intellect, time would be wanting to carry out such a scheme. 'How glorious it will be if I succeed!' he cried, marching up and down the room, unable to rest, and joy sparkling in every feature. 'How tranquilly shall I submit to be for the present a mere novel-

maker, while shaping out my stones ! I enjoy in anticipation the astonishment of the short-sighted when they shall behold the grand edifice which they will form !' That master builder then sat down in order to discuss the contemplated work more at his ease ; he judged impartially the imaginary beings who compose it, in spite of the tenderness with which he regarded them all."

"He told us the news of '*La Comédie Humaine*' just as one tells the news of the real world. 'Do you know who Felix Vandenesse marries? A lady of the Grandville family. It is an excellent marriage, the Grandvilles are rich, in spite of what Mlle. de Bellefeuille has cost them.' If sometimes we demanded grace for a young man on the road to ruin, or for a poor unhappy woman whose sad lot interested us : 'Don't stun me with your sensibilities,' he would reply ; 'the truth before all. Those sort of people are feeble and useless, that happens to them which ought to happen—so much the worse for them.'"

It was not until the publication of the compact edition of his works that Balzac determined upon giving to it the title of "*La Comédie Humaine*," a name which he adopted after much hesitation, fearing lest he might be censured for presumption. To this edition he prefixed a beautiful preface, in which he expresses a fear, destined to be prophetic, that he would not live to finish his cherished work. He also associates his chief friends by dedicating to each of them one of the works composing "*La Comédie Humaine*," which dedications show that he was valued and beloved by a number of his most illustrious contemporaries.

Between 1827 and 1848, Balzac composed and published no less than ninety-seven works, and this, too, without either secretary or corrector of the press. His method of writing his romances was a very strange one. His first sketch, even of his longest works, seldom exceeded thirty or forty pages, and each sheet was thrown aside as it was written without being revised or corrected. Next day a proof of the MSS. was sent him by the printer with enormous margins. On the second proof, the forty pages expanded to a hundred, and these to two hundred on the third, and so on, until the work had received the finishing touches of the master. He was the terror of compositors, who dreaded his interminable additions and corrections, and it has been said that they used to stipulate in their engagements, that they should not have on each working day more than two hours of Balzac. "The love," says Mme. Surville, "which he had for perfection, and his profound respect for his own talent and for the public, made him, perhaps, labour his style too much. Except some works written under so happy



an inspiration that he retouched them but little, (such as 'La Messe de l'Athée,' 'La Grenadière,' 'Le Message,' 'La Femme Abandonnée,' &c.), it was only after having corrected successively eleven or twelve proofs of the same sheet, that he gave the *bon à tirer* so much longed for by the poor typographers, so fatigued by his corrections, that they could not each get through above a page at a time of Balzac."

The hours of labour to which Balzac accustomed himself were most unnatural, and must have seriously injured his constitution. He thus describes them in a letter to his sister written in 1833: "I have resumed my life of labour. I go to bed at six o'clock, immediately after dinner. The animal digests and sleeps until midnight. Auguste then brings me a cup of coffee, by the help of which the mind goes on working until midday. I then rush to the printing office with my copy, and get my proofs, in order to give exercise to the animal, who is full of thought even while walking. One puts a great deal of ink upon paper in twelve hours, little sister, and at the end of a month of that existence, there is a good deal of work done. Poor pen! Thou must be of diamond not to be worn out by so much labour! To increase the reputation of thy master, to acquit him towards all, then to give him a day's repose on the summit of the mountain, that is thy task!"

During the last twenty years of his life, Balzac travelled extensively; visiting Savoy, Sardinia, Corsica, Germany, Italy, St. Petersburg, and Southern Russia, and making besides a number of journeys into the interior of France, in order to enable him to describe faithfully and forcibly the scenes in which he placed his characters; and to this happy choice of locality, and vividness and accuracy of description in portraying many of the towns and districts of France, may be attributed a part of his success. He thus succeeded in ministering to the national vanity and to the nobler feeling of patriotism, and he is even more popular in the provinces than in Paris. In spite, however, of his increasing fame and popularity, his life was a series of struggles and shifts. From 1827 to 1836, he was obliged to live by granting bills, and was in perpetual anxiety as to the means of meeting them when they became due, or of getting them renewed when he was unable to meet them. He used to say that his burden of debt, with its accumulating interest, was like a snowball, which gathered size in rolling. At times, in order to appease the most urgent and menacing of his creditors, he achieved prodigies of labour, which astounded the printers and booksellers, and ultimately shortened his life.

Balzac was a day-dreamer; and was fond of building castles

in the air, fancying some rich millionaire paying all his debts out of admiration for his genius, and he thus, perhaps, prevented himself from dwelling too much on the sombre realities of his position. He was constantly, however, on the watch for some means of retrieving his affairs. He had heard certain learned members of the French Institute maintain that the ancient Romans, but imperfectly acquainted with the science of metallurgy, had left much neglected wealth in the scorïæ of the Sardinian mines. The sanguine spirit of the novelist at once adopted this idea, and he lost no time in starting for Sardinia, where he procured specimens from the scorïæ of the mines, and on his return, submitted them to the analysis of skilful chemists. Their report was favourable; but it was necessary to proceed to Piedmont in order to obtain from the Sardinian Government a concession of the scorïæ of the mines. Balzac's literary engagements, however, delayed him for nearly a year; and, at length, on reaching Piedmont, he had the mortification to find himself too late. Always communicative, he had mentioned the motive of his voyage to the Genoese captain who had conveyed him to Sardinia, who had lost no time in obtaining for himself a grant of the scorïæ from the Sardinian Government, by which he succeeded in realizing a handsome fortune, for it was really rich in silver, and Balzac, but for his indiscreet revelation and subsequent enforced delays, might have secured that liberty and competence for which he had so long and vainly striven.

In 1833, Balzac was obliged to institute legal proceedings against the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in vindication of his literary rights; and, as justice was evidently on his side, he succeeded in gaining his case. But the consequences of this success were very disastrous; for it not only closed against him the columns of that influential review, but also rendered it decidedly hostile in its criticisms. The publication of his book "Illusions Perdues," in which he shows up the feuilletonists, raised a great part of the press in arms against him, and he soon found himself assailed on all sides; but Mme. Surville tells us that he cared so little for the attacks thus made upon him, that he was in the habit of bringing for her perusal and that of her husband, those articles in which he was most severely criticised. He himself set on foot two literary journals, the *Chronique de Paris* and the *Revue Parisienne*, hoping that by careful editing they would acquire a wide circulation, and thus assist him in paying off his numerous liabilities. In spite, however, of his utmost exertions, and the aid of numerous accomplished literary friends, such as Théophile Gautier and Charles de Bernard, neither of these undertakings proved successful. About this time his critics assailed him with the

charge of immorality, and their accusations were so successful, that his works were prohibited in Spain and Italy, and especially at Rome. These attacks pained him exceedingly; and, at times, overwhelmed him with discouragement. "They are determined," he used to say to his sister, "to overlook the general scope of my work, in order the better to tear it to pieces in detail. My modest critics hide their faces before certain characters in 'La Comédie Humaine,' unhappily as true to nature as the others, and who form the shadows in the great picture of the manners of our epoch; there are vices in our times as in all others: would they have me, in the name of innocence, clothe in white the two or three thousand characters in 'La Comédie Humaine?' I should like to see them at that work. I do not invent the Marneffes male and female, the Hulots, the Philippe Brideaus whom every one thrusts aside in our advanced civilization. I write for men, not for young girls! Let them then cite a single page where religion or the family are assailed! Such injustice vexes the heart and saddens the spirit! Through how many tortures must success be achieved!" Occasionally, Balzac met with some public and gratifying recognition of his genius, which consoled him for the numerous attacks made upon his reputation. Thus, at Vienna, when he entered a concert-room one evening, all present rose in a body to salute the author of "La Comédie Humaine;" and, on leaving the room, a young student started from the midst of the crowd, seized the hand of Balzac, carried it to his lips, and exclaimed, "I embrace the hand which has written 'Séraphita!'" "There was so much enthusiasm and conviction in that youthful face," said Balzac, relating the anecdote to his sister, "that that sincere homage went at once to my heart, and when my talents are denied, the remembrance of that student consoles me!"

As a dramatic writer Balzac was unsuccessful. "Vautrin," the first of his pieces which was represented, was produced at the Théâtre Porte St. Martin, in 1840, and was withdrawn after the third representation. "Les Ressources de Quinola," another of his dramas, in which he made the bold attempt to produce a second Figaro, and rival the brilliant wit and happy style of Beaumarchais, was also a failure. It abounds in obscure phraseology, improbable situations, and exaggerated effects, and is deficient in that sparkling gaiety which delights us in the immortal Figaro. The great novelist, indeed, seems to have but ill comprehended his own abilities when he attempted to distinguish himself as a successful writer of comedies.

Mme. Surville informs us that, in the society of herself, her husband, and children, and in that of his intimate friends, Balzac, in spite of his many cares and embarrassments, was a



most amiable and charming companion, gay and good-humoured, and apparently as happy and unconcerned as the youngest and happiest present. "Those who have known Balzac," she says, "from the cradle to the grave, can testify that that man, so clear-sighted and observant, was trusting and simple as a child in his amusements, of the sweetest temper even in his days of sadness and discouragement, and of such amiability among his intimate friends that life was happy near him. In short, that great genius had all the graces and all the charms of those who shine only by their amiability. His happy gaiety of temperament gave him the serenity necessary for the prosecution of his labours; but he was a fool who pretended to judge Balzac in his hours of amusement; that child-like man, returned to his work, again became the gravest and most profound of thinkers." He had a curious theory with regard to the names of the characters in his novels. He held that invented names could only give life to imaginary beings, while those which have really been borne give reality. And upon this theory he selected those of all the personages in "*La Comédie Humaine*," returning joyfully from his walks when he had made some good acquisitions of this sort. "*Matifat! Cardot!*" he once remarked to his sister; "what delicious names! I found Matifat in the Rue de la Perle au Marais. I see already my Matifat! He will have a clownish cat-like face, and a slight degree of stoutness, for Matifat will have nothing great about him, as you may well believe. And Cardot? Another affair: he will be a little man, dry as a flint, sprightly and jovial."

Balzac bestowed much time on the formation of his plans, and carried them a long while in his head before reducing them to writing. "He is dead," says his sister, "bearing with him to the tomb more than one completed work, which he reserved for the maturity of his talent, affrighted at the extensive prospect which he saw before him. 'I am not yet,' he would say, 'arrived at the perfection necessary for these grand subjects.' The '*Essai sur les Forces Humaines*,' the '*Pathologie de la Vie Sociale*,' '*L'Histoire des Corps Enseignants*,' the '*Monographie de la Vertu*,' such were the titles of these works, of which the pages will, unhappily, remain unwritten." One characteristic of Balzac which we have not yet noticed, was his excessive *amour-propre*. This was, however, so frank, so good-natured, and so well justified, that it was far preferable to that false humility which is often the disguise of the deepest pride. It served, too, to sustain him against the want of success and the attacks of his enemies. He might possibly have done better to repress his open exhibition of self-satisfaction; but that would have been almost impossible

for a man of his vivacity of temperament and openness of disposition. He was always the first to laugh at his own egotism, and could bear the laugh of others; and, though proud of his own genius, he was never meanly jealous of others; but, on the contrary, ever ready to acknowledge and praise merit either in a friend or a foe.

Mme. Surville's tenderness and admiration for the memory of her brother occasionally lead her a great deal too far, though such a fault is natural and easily pardoned in a sister; thus, when she assigns him a place beside Rabelais, Shakspeare, and Molière, we may excuse her partiality, but we cannot help smiling at her blindness. She may, however, plead high authority in favour of her opinion; for Victor Hugo has pronounced the most glowing eulogium on "*La Comédie Humaine*," which he styles, "*Livre merveilleux que la poète a intitulé comédie, et qu'il aurait pu intituler histoire, qui prend toutes les formes, et tous les styles, qui dépasse Tacite et qui va jusqu'à Suétone, qui traverse Beaumarchais et qui va jusqu'à Rabelais.*"

In the present volume, Mme. Surville does not touch upon the later years of her brother, his romantic marriage with the Countess Hanska, and his premature death at the age of fifty-one, after four months of wedded happiness; but she leads us to hope that she may yet do so, and thus finish the portrait she has so happily commenced. Meanwhile, we cannot more appropriately conclude the present sketch of his life and works, than by the following vivid and interesting picture of the personal appearance and dress of the great novelist: "My brother said jestingly, in reference to his short stature—he was but five feet three inches in height—that great men were almost always little; which doubtless was in order to bring as close as possible the head and the heart, that these two powers, which govern the human organization, might the better perform their functions. At home one always found him clothed in a large dressing gown of white cashmere lined with white silk, cut like that of a monk, and fastened by a silken girdle, his head covered with that Dantesque cap of black velvet which he had adopted in his garret, which he afterwards always wore, and which my mother alone made for him. According to the hour at which he went out, his dress was very slovenly or very careful. If one met him in the morning, fatigued by twelve hours of labour, rushing along to the printing office, an old hat pushed over his eyes, his hands concealed in coarse gloves, his feet shod with high-quartered shoes drawn over a wide pair of trowsers, he might be confounded with the crowd; but, if he uncovered his forehead, looked at, or spoke to you, the most

vulgar man would keep him in remembrance. His intellect, so constantly exercised, had still further developed that forehead naturally vast, which received so much knowledge! That intellect showed itself at his first words, and even in his gestures! A painter would have been able to study upon that ever-changing countenance the expression of all the feelings, joy, pain, energy, discouragement, irony, hopes, or deceptions: it reflected all the emotions of the soul. He triumphed over the vulgarity which stoutness gives, by manners and gestures impressed with native grace and dignity. His hair, of which he often varied the arrangement, was always artistic, in whatever manner he wore it. An immortal chisel has given his features to posterity. David's bust of my brother, at the age of forty-four years, has faithfully reproduced his beautiful forehead, his magnificent hair—token of physical equal to his moral force—his deep-set eyes, the fine lines of that square cut nose, of that mouth with its curved contours, where good-nature and sarcasm were mingled, that chin which finished the pure oval of his face before his stoutness had impaired its harmony. But the marble, unfortunately, has not preserved the fire of those lamps of intellect, of those eyes with brown pupils spangled with gold like those of the lynx. Those eyes asked and answered without the assistance of speech, discerned the ideas and the feelings, and threw out sparkles which seemed to proceed from an internal fire, and to give light to the day instead of receiving it!"

The friends of Balzac will recognise the truth of these lines, which those who have not known him will accuse of exaggeration.

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#### ART. IV.—HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION.

*History of Civilization in England.* By Henry Thomas Buckle.  
Vol. I. London. 1857.

MINERVA is fabled to have sprung perfect, armed, and beautiful, from her father's brain,—one of the least apt of the Grecian myths; since the arts and sciences which she represents and patronizes, are, in their origin, almost uniformly imperfect, if not grotesque. From the specimens which survive of the earliest efforts of imitative or inventive art, we can well imagine how much the still earlier attempts would require some legend attached, to explain whether the thing represented were "fish, or calf, or bird on bough." Yet the work of men's hands is not more defective than that of the mind; the



first sketches and rudiments of all science are invariably distinguished by crudeness and practical inapplicability. The first theories of cosmogony, dependent on heat, on atoms, on vacua or plena, on fire, or on numbers,—all out of proportion and ill-adapted as are the causes to the effects which are to be accounted for,—are scarcely even less plausible than the incipient attempts at new generalizations, which are made in all ages; even in those when the principles of true philosophic induction might be supposed to be recognised and understood. Within the last three years, we have seen the publication of a grave and even learned work,\* in which the author, striving after some new and very extensive classification of phenomena, concludes that *heat*, under the designation of the “law of the laboratory,” is the one and efficient cause of the powers and motions of the universe; the purpose being skilfully accomplished by ignoring certain oppugnant facts, dialectically explaining away others, and dwelling at great length upon a few general principles, twisted and contorted, so as to apply to the theory; and, as some facts are too important to be overlooked, and too obstinate to be bent, they are classified as amongst those things which we shall understand better sometime, and which, “*therefore*,” in no way militate against the general view.

Another writer, of no small scientific merit, seriously argues, that the blue colour of the sky is owing to the combustion of hydrogen in oxygen in the upper strata of the atmosphere!

That this should be an age of systematization (at least, in attempt),—that the systems should be in many cases weak and inefficient, is in no way surprising. There is a vast and ever increasing and multiplying accumulation of facts in every department of human knowledge, which must, in every thinking and orderly mind, excite a weariness of their intolerable burden—some order and method *must* be introduced; and it is scarcely possible to imagine that the first attempts at this order can be otherwise than wrong or imperfect. Yet are they worthy of the utmost respect, and eminently interesting. It is after many a shipwreck that a true chart of the ocean is formed. It is through seas of error that even the greatest minds arrive at truth. The originator of a science can by no means perfect it at once; he is not acquainted (who can be?) with *every* circumstance which may favour or oppose his views; but his crude conception is formed and fashioned by a thousand hands, not one

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\* Nomos. London, 1856.

of which, perhaps, could have sketched the first outline. In our admiration of the gigantic intellect of a Newton, we must not forget a Ptolemy. Without the labours and accumulation of observations, we might even say without the *theories* of previous inquirers, in which to detect error, the greatest minds would fail to form a science; and it would be almost irrational to suppose that Newton could of himself alone have attained that comprehensive view of the universe, which so changed the aspect of science. He *was* a giant, but did not refuse the greater range of vision afforded by the monuments of the greatness of his predecessors.

For these reasons, we would, under certain limitations, to be afterwards indicated, ascribe very great honour to the pioneers in any science—to those who rough-hew a path through apparently impenetrable forests of well- or ill-observed and unarranged facts,—binding them into bundles, however heterogeneous,—tying them with cords ever so brittle. All may have to be altered, but the way is in some measure pointed out; at least (and a great work it is) the possibility of success is suggested. The honour of this achievement will also be the greater, in proportion to the difficulties and complexities which beset the work; and we may readily conceive that the number of these is at its maximum, when we attempt to investigate problems connected with social life and progress.

In natural or physical science, the elements of calculation are comparatively few; and if not so, they comport themselves under certain given conditions, with a uniformity which may be equally matter for history or prediction. A planet obeys a known disturbing force with the same regularity that it fulfils the primary laws of its motions. An acid and an alkali act and react in the same manner, under similar conditions, now, as they did a thousand years back. But the case is almost indefinitely changed, when the question is concerning man and his doings. Subject to all physical laws, he is at the same time moved by another law which is not physical, and which, so far as we have yet ascertained, is not of calculable regularity—the inner, mental life—the *individual will*. The problem becomes complex in the extreme. Given—man, with his capacities and tendencies, his hopes and fears, his passions, his vices and virtues, motives, hindrances, aspirations, and ambitions; given also some sketch of his past history;—to trace the law of causation of events, to calculate his present status, and his future progress and destiny. No wonder that, till very recently, no attempts have been made to solve so apparently hopeless a problem; where the unknown quantities have been and are so much more numerous than the equations; or that

men have taken refuge in empiricism—in theories of fate or chance.

The volume before us is intended as an attempt at some such solution, or at least to clear the way for it—to indicate that a solution is possible. It is a very remarkable book, great in execution, gigantic in promise and purpose. It consists of about nine hundred pages; yet appears to be only a small part of the "General Introduction" to the body of the work, which is to treat of "Civilization in England." We propose to give, as briefly as the important nature of the subject will permit, an analysis of the earlier chapters, in which the nature and causes of civilization are discussed, with such comments as may seem to be necessary. As we shall chiefly have to appear in the character of opponents to almost all Mr. Buckle's opinions and conclusions, we wish, in the outset, to express our cordial admiration for the depth of research, and the apparently boundless stores of learning which characterize this work; for the clear and sometimes eloquent style in which his views are set forth; and for the uncompromising boldness with which an entirely new path is struck out through fields of inquiry that might well dismay a less courageous mind. At the same time, we must deprecate the arbitrary assumption of superiority over all who hold opposing views, and the contemptuous classification of the religious opinions of a great proportion of the civilized world, as "superstitions," "weaknesses," and "glaring absurdities." It is very possible, and a very pleasant supposition, that we alone know the truth; but to trample down our neighbour, and ride rough-shod over his cherished hopes and sentiments, is scarcely the likeliest means to bring him over to our views. But we will now address ourselves to the work in hand.

Mr. Buckle objects to the style in which history has hitherto been written. Vast masses of material have been collected, annals collated and sifted, antiquities examined, political economy raised to a science, statistics extensively cultivated, natural science developed, and prodigious numbers of different tribes of men visited and described by travellers, so as to enable us to compare their conditions with each other, and with those of civilized communities.

"When we add that this curiosity respecting our fellow-creatures is apparently insatiable; that it is constantly increasing; that the means of gratifying it are also increasing; and that most of the observations which have been made are still preserved;—when we put all these things together, we may form a faint idea of the immense value of that vast body of facts which we now possess,



and by the aid of which the progress of mankind is to be investigated."

But these materials, extensive as they are, have been made very little use of, except to form collections of incidents. Historians, it appears, have thought that "their business is merely to relate events," and have done little towards discovering the laws on which these events depend. Were Macaulay, Alison, Niebuhr, Froude, Mahon, and Grote, very sensitive persons, perhaps they would not feel flattered by this summary of historians' work:—

"According to this scheme, any author, who from indolence of thought, or from natural incapacity, is unfit to deal with the highest branches of knowledge, has only to pass some years in reading a certain number of books, and then he is qualified to become an historian: he is able to write the history of a great people; and his work becomes an authority on the subject which it professes to treat."

Many causes have contributed to this lamentable state of historical science; amongst which we find prominently set forth, that writers of history have not been at the same time adepts in natural science, lawyers, political economists, theologians, statisticians, and metaphysicians (p. 4). But all these obstacles in the way of a true comprehension of history, are as nothing, compared to the belief in a Providence (p. 7). This appears to be at once the greatest weakness of which man is capable, and the strongest bar to his progress.

"Whoever wishes to raise history to a level with other branches of knowledge is met by a preliminary obstacle; since he is told that in the affairs of men there is something mysterious and providential, which makes them impervious to our investigations, and which will always hide from us their future course."

This is pronounced gratuitous, incapable of proof, and opposed by all analogies of physical science. The great question then comes under discussion: "Are the actions of men, and therefore of societies, governed by fixed laws; or are they the result either of chance, or of supernatural interference?"

The opposed doctrines of chance and necessary connexion are ascribed respectively, as to their origin, to nomadic hunting tribes, and to agricultural communities. Utterly uncivilized people, living entirely by hunting and fishing, might be supposed to ascribe their food to chance; whilst those who "reap what they sow," will arrive at the conviction of necessary connexion. Plausible enough, if there was the slightest

support for it in history; but, unfortunately, opposed by one striking fact, that the nomadic Eastern tribes have been always the most strongly imbued of any people with the doctrines of fatalism; the idea which, according to Mr. Buckle, theologically corresponds to the philosophic one of necessary connexion, as that of free will does to that of chance (p. 9). "The doctrine of chance in the external world corresponds to that of free will in the internal; while the other doctrine of necessary connexion is equally analogous to that of predestination; the only difference being, that the first is a development by the metaphysician, the second by the theologian" (p. 11). Mr. Buckle rejects chance as a source of action; as also predestination, because this involves the idea of a predestinator. Free will is also denied to man, in the most uncompromising manner. It is of no use to assert that every man is *conscious* of freedom in certain acts. For, "it is by no means certain that consciousness is a faculty;" and even if it be so, it is notoriously fallible. This worn-out metaphysical notion affords but a flimsy pretext for setting aside the doctrine of human responsibility, which would necessarily follow, from denying man's consciousness and freedom. For what have men to depend upon in their daily life but consciousness? What but this is the foundation of all society and law? How does Mr. Buckle know that men exist, but by this fallible testimony? and what evidence but this have we that Mr. Buckle has written a book at all? There is no position in science that may not be dialectically overturned by such sophistry as this; but practically it never had, and never can have, any influence upon civilized and enlightened society. Yet upon this, as we shall see, Mr. Buckle founds his theory of progress.

The doctrine of necessary connexion is the one which is adopted to account for human affairs, which differs from that of predestination chiefly, if not wholly, by excluding a God from the world. Men act only in obedience to motives, and "these motives are the result of antecedents" (p. 17); therefore, if we knew the "whole of the antecedents, and the laws of their movements," we could predict the results. These antecedents are "either in the mind or out of it;" therefore, all human progress must be due to "a double action; an action of external phenomena upon the mind, and another action of the mind upon the phenomena" (p. 18). Of these, the former exercises incalculably the more powerful influence.

The proof of actions being due rather to necessary connexion than to any free will on the part of the agents, is derived from the science of statistics. The same, or nearly the same, number of murders and suicides occur year by year;

which fact (singularly enough!) forces us to the "conclusion, that the offences of men are the result, not so much of the vices of the individual offender, as of the state of society into which that individual is thrown" (p. 27); and "can leave no doubt on our minds that suicide is merely the product of the general condition of society, and that the individual felon only carries into effect what is a necessary consequence of preceding circumstances" (p. 25). To this we have only to object, that instead of being stigmatized as "offenders and felons," these men ought to be called philanthropists and public benefactors. If a given portion of society be necessarily compelled to commit murder and suicide, by "a law so irresistible, that neither the love of life nor the fear of another world can avail anything towards checking its operation" (p. 26), we can but be deeply grateful to those who will do so objectionable a business for us. Curious would be a code of laws, framed on such principles, logically carried out. Pensions to murderers, and a place in some pantheon to all suicides, would be necessary elements of such legislation. Even under the most modified view, criminals should never be punished, but rather pitied as victims; since "the moral actions of men are the product not of their volition but of their antecedents" (p. 29); and it would be wanton cruelty to punish for what was inevitable; whilst, on the other hand, no consideration of example could have any weight. Not only crimes, however, are subject to this regularity, but social arrangements. Marriages, instead of having "any connexion with personal feelings, are simply regulated by the average earnings of the great mass of the people" (p. 30), and the price of grain. Statistics, having revealed this regularity of events, are emphatically pronounced to have "thrown more light upon the study of human nature than all the sciences put together" (p. 31). A curious idea is this, that a science of numbers can throw light upon human nature and its laws. After each retreating tide, the general aspect of the shore is very similar; and, perhaps, a yearly enumeration of the jelly-fishes, the crabs, the star-fishes, the shrimps, &c., which strew its surface, would not present any great numerical differences. Yet how strange and grotesque it would appear in any one to attempt, from these numbers, to infer the habits and manners of crustaceans, the present state of the medusæ as a tribe, or the physiology and probable capacities of the echinoderms. Yet something like this is proposed to be done with humanity. Count the results of its tens of thousands of conflicting passions and interests—enumerate the army of the slain, and return the number of the survivors—and you will have data whereon to found a science of humanity, to recognise



its present position, and to calculate, with certainty, its future. What a simple problem is before us under this view! With the utmost appreciation for the revelations of this most valuable science, we must confess that we cannot see how they prove the doctrine of necessary connexion, in opposition to any of the other three: chance, predestination, or free will. We cannot at all see why free will in operation in society might not produce a regularity at least as striking as those quoted. The suicides in certain years vary about twenty-five per cent. from those in other years, which certainly leaves some scope for the action of will. The other two doctrines appear to us much more likely to produce regularity of results than this vague one of necessary connexion. As to predestination, if a power could ordain for one year a certain number of crimes, surely there would be nothing extraordinary in a nearly like number being ordained the next. As to chance, that would certainly produce more absolute regularity than occurs under the law of necessary connexion. This, which appears a paradox at first, becomes perfectly clear when examined. It is only by taking large averages both of time and place, according to Mr. Buckle's own statements, that any regularity is observed. It is not in any given street, or town, or district, or day, or month, that a certain number of crimes or other events must occur; but by taking countries and years. Now, if we take the doctrine of chances, with similar allowances, we shall find an almost perfect regularity. Seven hundred white balls and three hundred black ones in an urn, shaken out one by one, will certainly fall out in the proportion of seven to three; not, perhaps, in each ten, but taking a long average, the result will assuredly be so. In twenty-one throws of the dice, we may almost reckon with certainty upon any *one* combination; if it should not occur, a longer experience will bring up the average. And so, considering crime as an element of society, its regular occurrence does not seem any more explicable by necessary connexion, than by chance, free will, or predestination. Mr. Buckle, however, considers it proved that it is so; and hence views man chiefly as the creature of external circumstances, and, we suppose, entirely irresponsible.

The physical agents, by which the "human race is most powerfully influenced," are "climate, food, soil, and the general aspects of nature." Climate chiefly influences man's power and disposition to labour; soil determines the nature and extent of the food; and these combined, determine the first accumulation and distribution of wealth in any society, whereby a class is originated, which has leisure to cultivate arts

and sciences, and so to produce civilization ; for civilization is entirely the product of "the totality of human knowledge." Without knowledge there can be no civilization ; without leisure there can be no knowledge ; without wealth there can be no leisure ; and without an overplus of food there can be no wealth. And thus civilization is strictly dependent upon food.

"If what a people consume is always exactly equal to what they possess, there will be no residue ; and, therefore, no capital being accumulated, there will be no means by which the unemployed classes may be maintained. But if the produce is greater than the consumption, an overplus arises ; . . . and now it is that the existence of an intellectual class first becomes possible."—P. 39.

The direct returns of the food to the labour are influenced by the soil ; whilst the climate influences the regularity and energy with which the soil can be cultivated. "There is no instance in history of any country being civilized by its own efforts, unless it has possessed one of these conditions in a very favourable form." Thus in Asia, civilization has never been developed, except on the tract of rich alluvial soil, extending from the south-east of China, to the western coasts of Asia Minor and Palestine.

"To the north of this belt there is a long line of barren country, which has invariably been peopled by rude and wandering tribes, who are kept in poverty by the ungenial nature of the soil, and who, as long as they remained on it, have never emerged from their uncivilized state."

Yet these same people, the Mongolians and Tartars, have, when transplanted to regions of the above-named belt, founded large and highly civilized monarchies. In like manner, the Arabs had to leave their original barren, sandy wastes, before they could attain to any advanced civilization. And the same causes were operative in Africa. It is only in its eastern part, where the sandy desert is watered by the Nile, and covered, by its overflow, with a rich alluvial soil, that civilization became possible. This soil—

"Yields to labour the most abundant, and, indeed, the most extraordinary returns. The consequence is, that in that spot wealth was rapidly accumulated, the cultivation of knowledge quickly followed, and this narrow strip of land became the seat of Egyptian civilization ; a civilization, which, though grossly exaggerated, forms a striking contrast to the barbarism of the other nations of Africa, none of which have been able to work out their own progress, or emerge, in any degree, from the ignorance to which the penury of nature has doomed them."

Thus, in the earlier civilizations, the fertility of the soil exercised the most powerful influence; but, although prior in time, as might be expected, it is far from being the most permanent. The earliest forms of civilization were chiefly tropical, and dependent upon the nature of the soil; but in Europe, where the soil is less productive, the climate is more favourable to the development of the energy of man, followed by more successful labour; and, therefore "the civilization of Europe, which, in its earlier stage, was governed by climate, has shown a capacity of development, unknown to those civilizations which were developed by soil."

A people thus having acquired an overplus of food, which constitutes wealth,—solely stimulated by the soil and climate,—the next question which arises is, How, and by what laws, shall this wealth be distributed? Here, again, the influences are shown (on the author's views) to be entirely physical. Exactly in proportion to the natural fertility of the soil, food will be abundant, increase of population rapid, and labour cheap; and hence will arise a very unequal distribution of wealth—a great accumulation of riches amongst the higher classes, and the most abject poverty amongst the lower; resulting in irremediable slavery on the one hand, and despotism on the other. But, as the soil becomes less productive naturally, and the energies of man, invigorated by climate, are more necessary for its cultivation, the people will not multiply so quickly, food will be less abundant, and obtained by more labour; as a necessary consequence, this labour will be better rewarded, and the labouring classes will be in a higher and more independent position than in the former case. And thus is instituted the important difference between the slavery of tropical climates, and the freedom of colder ones.

Another important determining element in the same direction is found in the difference of food, both as to essential nature and quantity, which is required, under the varying physical conditions mentioned. As a rule, the inhabitants of warm latitudes require little food, and that little of a kind which is very easily procured—food abounding in oxygenized matter, rather than carbonized; such as is produced in great quantities by the soil, in many cases almost without labour, in others, entirely so. In colder climates, more highly carbonized food is required, and more in quantity; at the same time, this is not procured in the same easy manner, in many cases being derived from animal life; and the result is—

"That among nations where the coldness of the climate renders a highly carbonized diet essential, there is, for the most part, displayed, even in the infancy of society, a bolder and more adven-



turous character, than we find among those other nations, whose ordinary nutriment, being highly oxydized, is easily obtained, and, indeed, is supplied to them by the bounty of nature, gratuitously and without a struggle."

With the abundance and cheapness of food, the people multiply rapidly, the labour market is overstocked, and wages are low. "To express, therefore, the conclusion in its simplest form, we may say that there is a strong and constant tendency in hot countries for wages to be low, in cold countries for them to be high" (p. 59). And as forms of civilization depend in great measure upon the relations instituted between the various classes of society, so, in proportion, as food is cheap and abundant, civilization must be imperfect, and characterized by slavery. That this is not a strained deduction from Mr. Buckle's principles, will be evident from his comments upon the inhabitants of India. The cheapness and abundance of their staple food, rice, has been the sole originating cause of their degraded moral and physical condition. The Institutes of Menu declare that a slave must continue a slave, even though his master may give him his freedom; "for of a state which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested?"

"By whom, indeed," says Mr. Buckle, "could he be divested? I ween not where that power was, by which so vast a miracle could be worked. For in India, slavery—abject, eternal slavery—was the natural state of the great body of the people; it was the state to which they *were doomed by physical laws utterly impossible to resist*. The energy of those laws is in truth, so invincible, that wherever they have come into play, they have kept the productive classes in perpetual subjection. There is no instance on record of any tropical country, in which wealth having been extensively accumulated, the people have escaped their fate; no instance in which the heat of the climate has not caused an abundance of food, and the abundance of food caused an unequal distribution, first of wealth, and then of political and social power."—P. 73.

With this illustration of our author's views on the origin of the differences between man and man, and between state and state, we must leave this part of the subject. Faulty and imperfect as is the theory, obvious as it is that favouring influences have been mistaken for efficient causes; yet Mr. Buckle's application of these principles to the development of the ancient civilizations, abounds with matter of deep interest and instruction. The subject is much too extensive to be discussed within our limits; yet how this view fails to account for the phenomena of human progress will be evident, if we inquire why, physical laws being uniform in operation, the results have not been uniform? Why, if exuberant population

and food tend to slavery, and the reverse conditions to social prosperity and freedom, Lapland and Siberia are not farther advanced than ourselves? Why, if latitude, and climate, and soil determine progress, England should be the centre of civilization, whilst Canada\* was in a state of barbarism?

The physical condition of the various races being thus determined by their food, Mr. Buckle proceeds to show that what climate and soil are to the accumulation and distribution of wealth, the aspects of nature are to the accumulation and distribution of thought. The summary of an elaborate and interesting argument is this: In tropical countries, the powers and aspects of nature are grand and overwhelming, dominating over man, convincing him of his feebleness and inefficiency, quelling reason, and forcing into excessive development the imaginative faculties, as applied to art, religion, and literature. Hence, superstition originates, and intelligent progress is impossible. In Europe, nature is on a less magnificent scale, and man is enabled to assert and develop his own powers; here—

“The tendency of natural phenomena is, on the whole, to limit the imagination, and embolden the understanding; thus inspiring man with confidence in his own resources, and facilitating the increase of his knowledge, by encouraging that bold, inquisitive, and scientific spirit, which is constantly advancing, and on which all future progress must depend.”—P. 119.

“Hence it is, that looking at the history of the world as a whole, the tendency has been, in Europe, to subordinate nature to man; out of Europe to subordinate man to nature” (p. 138). The progress of European civilization is, therefore, to be traced by the progress of mind, and by the operation of mental laws.

Mental progress is twofold—moral and intellectual; a double movement, which is “essential to the very idea of civilization;” and the most important questions which can arise in any history of civilization, are those which relate to the share which these may respectively claim in its development. Mr. Buckle weighs the pretensions of each in a scale of his own construction, and concludes that man’s progress in civilization is entirely due to his intellectual advance, whilst morals exercise little or no influence upon it. For this reason: the conduct of mankind in the aggregate is regulated by, and

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\* This is not an unfair illustration; for Mr. Buckle indignantly repels the idea of any differences between men, except such as are produced originally by physical causes. For proof of this, see note to p. 37.

conforms to, the standard of morals and knowledge, common to the age and country in which they live. But this standard is continually changing, and this standard represents the state of civilization; and this mutability "shows that the conditions on which the standard depends must themselves be very mutable; and those conditions, whatever they may be, are evidently the originators of the moral and intellectual conduct of the great average of mankind" (p. 163). Anything, then, which is not mutable, cannot be a source or cause of human progress; therefore, by this test, "we shall see at once how extremely small is the influence those motives have exercised over the progress of civilization" (p. 163). For, according to Mr. Buckle, the principles of morality have always been the same, and, therefore, can have no progressive influence.

"That the system of morals, propounded in the New Testament, contained no maxim which had not been previously enunciated, and that some of the most beautiful passages in the Apostolic writings are quotations from Pagan authors, is well known to every scholar; . . . and to assert that Christianity communicated to man moral truths previously unknown, argues, on the part of the assertor, either gross ignorance, or else wilful fraud."—*Note to p. 164.*

Mr. Buckle prefixes to his work a list of about one thousand volumes, from which his materials have been drawn. Amongst these we do not find the Bible mentioned, so that, perhaps, we have no right to feel surprised at the errors contained in this rather intemperate statement. Let us briefly examine its value; for, although the mistakes (to call them by a mild name) are not of much weight, as affecting the primary argument, yet they will serve to show the spirit in which certain parts of this work are written.

In St. Paul's address to the Athenians, there is a quotation of five words, from either Aratus or Cleanthus: Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν—"We are also His offspring;" certainly more intended to keep alive the sympathies of the Athenians with the subject of his address, than to inculcate any great moral truth.

In the First Epistle to the Corinthians, there is another quotation of five words: "Evil communications corrupt good manners," probably from Menander's Φθείρουσιν θη ἡχρῆσθ' ὁμιλίας κακαί; which may fairly be said to be a heathen sentiment of morality.

In the Epistle to Titus, a quotation from Epimenides (most probably) calls the Cretians "liars, evil beasts, slow bellies;" not a great *moral* truth, however true in itself.

We cannot positively assert that these are *the only* quotations



from heathen writers, in the New Testament; but they are certainly the chief and most important,—there is not, therefore, much value to be attached to the charge of plagiarism against the Apostles.

The other part of the allegation, that Christianity taught no new lessons in morality, is almost too grotesque for serious refutation. How often did its Great Author, speaking to the Jews, quote to them their highest moralities, following them up by “But *I* say unto you.” How often did they acknowledge that He spake as never man spake! What heathen writer ever taught us to *love* our enemies, or to *pray* for them that persecute us, and despitefully use us? Unless Mr. Buckle can show us where these doctrines had been inculcated, before the teaching of Christ, we may fairly retort upon him the accusation of “gross ignorance or wilful fraud.”

Since the Christian era, morals have, indeed, been stationary, whilst intellect has been steadily progressive. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? The highest morality, a Divine teaching, once set forth, there was no room for progress; it was pure and perfect, and could be no more; but because perfect, must it be inoperative? There is a strange and almost inconceivable confusion of idea in this view, which overlooks entirely the *progressive recognition* of the moral law as a rule of life and conduct. Let us apply the same mode of argument to intellectual developments, and we shall see its fallacy at once. We may imagine, for the sake of illustration, that for a term of years human knowledge is not advanced in any particular; but that what is already known is diffused over the entire world, and all the savage and half-cultivated tribes of men are raised to our present state of intellectual development. Doubtless, civilization would have much advanced; and yet, according to Mr. Buckle's view, we must necessarily deny all share in this advance to intellect, since the absolute amount of knowledge is not in the least augmented. Morality is stationary—so is the multiplication table; but to immense masses of our fellow-creatures, the moral law, as a practical guide, is as little known as the differential calculus; by very few, perhaps by none, is it known and practised in perfection; and it is in proportion as its authority is recognised, and its rules obeyed, that men become civilized. Without the moral part of our nature, intellect would remain utterly inoperative, because its discoveries are in themselves essentially undiffusive. In advancing civilization, the sanctity of the marriage tie, and the security of life and property, must surely be reckoned as considerable elements; and with equal certainty these cannot be called intellectual discoveries.

How powerless mere intellect always proves itself in preserving and advancing civilization, may be seen by a glance at the empires of Greece and Rome, which declined at the very time of their greatest intellectual activity; and this, according to the unanimous testimony of historians, because of their demoralized, and, consequently, disintegrating state; in other words, because of the lack of faith and conscience, and a moral law, which alone can hold together, and give vitality to any society.

Mr. Buckle further remarks that "the intellectual principle is not only far more progressive than the moral principle, but is also far more permanent in its result." The acquisitions of the intellect are "immortal;" but the good that men do dies with them (p. 166).

"The consequence is, that although moral excellence is more amiable, and to most persons more attractive than intellectual excellence; still it must be confessed, that looking at ulterior results, it is far less active, less permanent, and less productive of real good. . . . These conclusions are, no doubt, very unpalatable; and what makes them peculiarly offensive is, that it is impossible to refute them."—P. 166.

The conclusion is comfortable and modest.

Mr. Buckle ingeniously traces the decline of religious persecution and of war entirely to intellectual progress, denying all share in it to morals; but ascribing the praise as to the latter altogether to the inventions of gunpowder, of political economy, and of improved means of locomotion; and he is again so satisfied with his views, that he is "quite unable to see on what ground their accuracy is to be impugned" (p. 204).

To give a complete view of Mr. Buckle's conclusions as to the relative value of morals and intellect, and whilst giving a favourable specimen of his style, to indicate how conveniently history can be warped or ignored, we shall quote at length the conclusion to his fourth chapter. Having pledged himself to prove in his future volumes (p. 204) that the advance which Europe has made from barbarism to civilization, is "entirely due to its intellectual activity," and that the changes in a civilized people are "dependent solely" upon the *amount*, the *direction*, and the *diffusion* of the knowledge of that people, he continues:—

"These are the three great movers of every civilized country; and although their operation is frequently disturbed by the vices or the virtues of powerful individuals, such moral feelings correct each other, and the average of long periods remains unaffected. Owing

to causes of which we are ignorant, the moral qualities do, no doubt, constantly vary; so that in one man, or, perhaps, even in one generation, there will be an excess of good intentions, in another, an excess of bad ones. But . . . in what may be called the innate and original morals of mankind, there is, so far as we are aware, no progress. Of the different passions with which we are born, some are more prevalent at one time, some at another; but experience teaches us that, as they are always antagonistic, they are held in balance by the force of their own opposition. The activity of one motive is corrected by the activity of another; for to every vice there is a corresponding virtue. Cruelty is counteracted by benevolence; sympathy is excited by suffering; the injustice of some provokes the charity of others; new evils are met by new remedies; and even the most enormous offences that have ever been known, have left behind them no permanent impression. The desolation of countries, and the slaughter of men, are losses which never fail to be repaired; and at the distance of a few centuries every vestige of them is effaced. The gigantic crimes of Alexander or Napoleon become after a time void of effect, and the affairs of the world return to their former level. This is the ebb and flow of history, the perpetual flux, to which, by the laws of our nature, we are subject. Above all this, there is a far higher movement; and as the tide rolls on, now advancing, now receding, there is amid its endless fluctuations, one thing, and one alone, which endures for ever. The actions of bad men produce only temporary evil, the actions of good men only temporary good; and, eventually, the good and the evil altogether subside, are neutralized by subsequent generations, absorbed by the incessant movement of future ages. But the discoveries of great men never leave us; they are immortal; they contain those eternal truths which survive the shock of empires, outlive the struggles of rival creeds, and witness the decay of successive religions. All these have their different measures and different standards; one set of opinions for one age, another set for another. They pass away like a dream—they are as the fabric of a vision, which leaves not a wrack behind. The discoveries of genius alone remain; it is to them we owe all that we now have; they are for all ages and all times; never young and never old, they bear the seeds of their own life; they flow on in a perennial and undying stream; they are essentially cumulative, and giving birth to the additions which they subsequently receive, they thus influence the most distant posterity, and after the lapse of centuries produce more effect than they were able to do, even at the moment of their promulgation.”—Pp. 205—6.

To enter fully into an analysis of this rhapsody in praise of intellect would require volumes; and as there are many other important branches of the inquiry yet to pass in review, we must content ourselves with a very brief comment. It is difficult in every particular to answer Mr. Buckle, because where the discrepancy of his views with certain well-known historical facts



might be shown, he is prepared with the reply, that a broad enough field of observation is not taken. Thus, finding that knowledge alone does not always satisfactorily account for the phenomena of progress, he says that "although it is perfectly true that the totality of human actions, if considered in long periods, depends on the totality of human knowledge, it must be allowed that this great principle, when applied only to one country, loses something of its original value." There are perturbations from moral sources, and influences from without, which certainly balance and equalize each other in the long run, and therefore are of no consequence in calculating the general progress of humanity. To this it is evident no reply can seriously be attempted, because any decisive instances would be esteemed on much too small a scale of time and place to prove anything. Otherwise we might assert that large empires had been destroyed, and their losses *not* repaired—that enormous crimes have had enormous influences on progress—that arts and sciences and intellectual emanations have been lost—that bad men have gravely affected whole nations, though in the order of Providence they may not have been permitted *always* to sweep them from the earth. If we are told that all these things are balanced and equalized by something elsewhere, and that a "long average" will show that these perturbations are things of no account, we may grant this; but in the fact we can only recognise that, let men rage as they will, there is a God that ruleth in the affairs of the world, and will not suffer the wickedness of man finally to triumph. Mr. Buckle may attribute this conservative influence to intellect alone; but the assertion is gratuitous—the cause inefficient. If the moral tendencies are neutralized by others, is it not equally probable, that knowledge is neutralized by ignorance, even more certainly than virtue by vice? Living also in a Christian land, and believing that from the times when our ancestors were half-clad savages, we have received *some* benefit from Christianity, we cannot acquiesce in the verdict that to "the discoveries of genius" we owe all that we now have; we should rather attribute some part of our happiness to that blessed hope of immortality which our Saviour has revealed to us—to that wisdom which cometh from above, which confounds the wisdom of the wise of this world—to those hopes without which we might indeed be of all men most miserable. Were it otherwise, woe indeed to the poor! to those who have no leisure for the cultivation of the intellect; woe to all those who place their trust not in their own might and their own power, but in Him who is to them the shadow of a great rock in a weary land! thrice woe to the weary and heavy laden, and to him

who has tried wisdom and tried knowledge, and behold, it was all vanity and vexation of spirit.

But whilst food and climate, and intellect and "natural progress" are doing so much for humanity, what of religion, what of literature, of forms of government, of intercourse with other people? Why, little or nothing! These are all small perturbing influences, which are of no account in a general view.

"The interference of foreign governments; the influence exercised by the opinions, literature, and customs of a foreign people; their invasions, perhaps even their conquests; the forcible introduction by them of new religions, new laws, and new manners,—all these things are perturbations, which in a view of universal history equalize each other."—P. 211.

In another place (p. 232) influences from without are summarily disposed of as "tampering" with natural progress.

Once for all, we must acknowledge our utter inability to comprehend this theory of "equalization," or how it can be applied to individual cases. The progress of humanity depends on the progress of nations without doubt, and individual nations are, according to Mr. Buckle's own statement, affected by the above-named influences for good or for evil. The preaching of St. Augustin, the Norman Conquest, the Reformation—these, and innumerable other events, have powerfully influenced English progress; and we are at a loss to conceive where, when, or how, these events can be equalized, or what could be understood by the phrase; unless it be that whilst we are the better for them, some other people are worse. The introduction of Christianity into Europe has certainly changed its aspect very materially, and it is difficult to imagine what could "equalize" its influence, or what the result of such equalization would be, unless it were a return to paganism. Indeed, this theory appears to us only a device to escape from the otherwise inevitable consequences of the historic test as applied to the principle of pure intellectual dynamism in nations; and it has certainly the merit of being, in its vague way, unanswerable.

Mr. Buckle acknowledges that religion, literature, and government are "subjects of vast importance, and which in the opinion of many persons are the prime movers in human affairs. That this opinion is altogether erroneous will be amply proved in the present work" (p. 232). Religion is a symptom, not a cause, of the progress of a people; when it is more than this, it is a disturbing element, which interferes with, but by no means facilitates, progress. The conversion of barbarous nations is impossible, unless they are first civilized (p. 234). Great thinkers undoubtedly do occasionally arise, who found a

new religion, or a new philosophy, "by which important effects are eventually brought about." But if this religion, or philosophy, be too much in advance of the age, it is useless, and must wait till the minds of men are ready for it.

"Thus it was that the doctrine of one God, taught to the Hebrews of old, remained for many centuries altogether inoperative." The Jews were barbarians, and therefore unfit for a pure religion; they relapsed constantly and necessarily into idolatry; and it was not until they were advanced in civilization that they "began to abstract and refine their religion," so as to accomplish for themselves what God could not accomplish for them. In short, a great mistake was made in choosing a "peculiar people," and making them the worshippers of One God!

A similar anachronism and mistake was committed in reference to the introduction of Christianity into Europe. "The Romans were, with rare exceptions, an ignorant and barbarous race," for whom "Polytheism was the natural," and therefore the better, creed. The invaders who overran Rome were also barbarians, "who brought with them those superstitions which were suited to their actual condition." Christianity was unfit for these people, and the result was, that "after the new religion seemed to have carried all before it, and had received the homage of the best part of Europe, it was soon found that nothing had been really effected" (p. 237), and no good resulted until Europe had civilized itself, and so become fitted for such a form of religion. Accordingly, Christianity only did mischief, by disturbing the natural progress of civilization (pp. 237—240, *et seq.*). All forms of religion, indeed, are inventions of the people themselves, and are one as good as another; that which arises amongst any people is the natural one and the best for them.

"In the Dark Ages, men were credulous and ignorant; *they therefore produced* a religion which required great belief and little knowledge. In the sixteenth century their credulity and ignorance, though still considerable, were rapidly diminishing, and it was found necessary *to organize* a religion suited to their altered circumstances; a religion more favourable to free inquiry; a religion less full of miracles, saints, legends, and idols."—P. 239.

Any idea of an "external revelation" is so utterly contemptible, as scarcely to be worthy of allusion; except in terms of pity for those who are weak and superstitious enough to believe in it. The lofty contempt lavished upon any references to Providence or Divine Power is truly edifying. Speaking of Comines, the historian, whom he styles "an observer of rare sagacity," Mr. Buckle adds:—



"As to his superstition, it would be idle to give many instances of that; . . . it may, however, be observed, that though he was personally acquainted with statesmen and diplomatists, and had, therefore, the fullest opportunities of seeing how enterprises of the fairest promise are constantly ruined, merely by the incapacity of those who undertake them, he, on all important occasions, ascribes such failure, not to the real cause, but to the immediate interference of the Deity; . . . and deliberately asserts that battles are lost, not because the army is ill-supplied, nor because the campaign is ill-conceived, nor because the general is incompetent; but because the people or their prince are wicked, and Providence seeks to punish them."—P. 300.

He adds, in a note, that the last vestige of such opinions, once so prevalent, "is the expression, which is gradually falling into disuse, of 'appealing to the God of Battles.'"

In these reckless statements concerning the deficiencies and incapacities of the Christian faith and religion, there is an utter disregard of historical truth, which it may be worth while to investigate briefly. And first as to the impossibility of influencing barbarous nations by religion previous to intellectual cultivation. "We may as well expect seed to quicken in the barren rock, as that a mild and philosophic religion should be established among ignorant and ferocious savages [before some intellectual change has taken place]. Of this innumerable experiments have been made, and always with the same result." Now to go no further than our own country: we were ignorant, ferocious, and savage enough to delight the warmest admirers of the "natural man," when the Gospel of Christ was preached first in our land; if offering up each other as burnt offerings to idols, and other customs not fit to mention, be any signs of savagery. Yet we received that Gospel, and were *by it* civilized. For we have no evidence that the early Romish missionaries gave us much intellectual culture; and at all events this was subsequent to their preaching. Of course Mr. Buckle rejects *in toto* the accounts of successful missions in the present day; these are compounds of fancy, enthusiasm, and fraud. Yet we can scarcely open a work by any enlightened traveller treating of savage life, which does not allude to the civilizing results which in some degree always follow the introduction of Christianity, even when the religion itself may not be perfectly received, as is too often the case. When men live clothed in little save vermin, and yet are so undainty in diet as to eat one another, they may fairly be supposed to represent savage life in perfection. When they wash and clothe themselves, and cease to eat their enemies, or even their relatives, they may equally fairly be supposed to have taken some steps towards civilization. And these are the results which,

amongst other authorities, Mr. Pickering relates (himself no staunch supporter of Christianity) as having in numerous instances followed the introduction of the Gospel in the islands of the South Seas. The warlike barbarians of Scythia and Germany also were converted to Christianity first by the slaves whom they had brought from the Roman provinces, who can scarcely be imagined *first* to have civilized them, since the civilization was an entirely subsequent process to the reception of the religious truth. No doubt all these things may be classed by Mr. Buckle as the minor "disturbing influences" which in the broad view of history are "balanced and equalized;" but the application of the theory is obscure.

Perhaps the testimony of Gibbon, whose well-known hostility to Christianity will exempt him from any charge of overstating the case, may be useful in showing what Christianity did for Europe, and what was the nature and *order* of its connexion with Civilization. We shall, therefore, quote a few passages from his great work, which are valuable as proving what Christianity compels even its opponents to acknowledge.

"Christianity, which opened the gates of heaven to the barbarians, *introduced* an important change in their moral and political conditions. They received at the same time the use of letters, so essential to a religion whose doctrines are contained in a sacred book; and while they studied the divine truth, their minds were insensibly enlarged by the distant view of history, of nature, of the arts, and of society." After showing how the study of the Scriptures stimulated learning, and kept up the connexion with the Augustan age of literature, he proceeds: "The emulation of mankind was encouraged by the remembrance of a more perfect state; and the flame of science was secretly kept alive, to warm and enlighten the mature age of the Western world. In the most corrupt state of Christianity, the barbarians might learn justice from the *law*, and mercy from the *Gospel*; and if the knowledge of their duty was insufficient to guide their actions, or to regulate their passions, they were sometimes restrained by conscience, and frequently punished by remorse." In all this, there is no indication of a suspicion that increasing intelligence *demand*ed a new religion; but that religion was the direct agent in inducing cultivation of the intellect. The same high and unprejudiced authority tells us that "a new spirit of legislation, respectable even in its error, arose in the empire with the religion of Constantine,—and the Christian princes adapted their penal statutes to the degrees of moral and religious turpitude."

As it would appear to be Mr. Buckle's opinion, that one religion is as good as another, he may be justified in stating,

that "nothing had been done" when, in the place of the degrading superstitions of paganism, a purer form of belief and morals had been introduced. The only proof, however, which he even attempts to adduce is, that Christianity soon became corrupted; all the rest is a tissue of gratuitous assertions, contradicted in mass by all the plain, well-known facts of history. We have entered thus at length into this part of the subject, not so much with the view of confuting what requires no refutation, as to show how Mr. Buckle disregards all history and all testimony which militates against his theory of progress. His views on the subject of prayer may be gathered from the following passage:—

"Science not having yet succeeded in discovering the laws of rain, men are at present unable to foretell it for any considerable period; the inhabitant of the country is therefore driven to believe that it is the result of supernatural agency, and we still see the extraordinary spectacle of prayers offered up in our churches for dry weather or for wet weather; a superstition which, to future ages, will appear as childish as the feelings of pious awe with which our fathers regarded the presence of a comet, or the approach of an eclipse. . . . We resort to the impious [!] contrivance of calling in the aid of the Deity to supply those deficiencies in science which are the result of our own sloth; and we are not ashamed, in our public churches, to prostitute the rites of religion, by using them as a cloak to conceal an ignorance we ought frankly to confess."—P. 345.

No, assuredly we are not ashamed to obey the precepts and follow the example of our Master; but Mr. Buckle belongs to the "*Positive*" school of religion and philosophy, and cares for none of these things. His determined hostility, however, to all other views than his own, very frequently leads him into a state of illogical wrath; as in the present instance. For if there be an all-powerful Being and a revelation of His will, which tells us to ask for those things that are needful for us, there can be no *impiety* in doing so;—if there be neither, the term "impious" is unmeaning; at the worst we can but be "childish:"—perhaps, even then, we may be no further from the Kingdom, for becoming thus like little children.

Our readers will permit us to introduce an imaginary sketch, which will embody Mr. Buckle's views on the relations of humanity to religion more compendiously than a mere abstract.

#### THE LORD'S PRAYER. An Address to Young Men.

By a "Positivist."

Young men, listen to the words of wisdom. You have, most of you, been taught in your childhood to use a formula, called the "Lord's Prayer," which in a very short space contains a



great deal of error, much of it unmeaning, but much also dangerous. Against this error I wish to guard you, by a brief commentary on each clause of this singular composition. The first is an invocation—*Our Father, which art in heaven!* Although the “religion of Positivism” allows us, in some sort, to worship our ancestors,\* it tells us little about a Heavenly Father, or indeed a heaven. But in all past ages, humanity has been so weak as to be unable to stand alone, without some such ideal support as is here implied; and even in this enlightened age, the majority of men, amongst whom you are doubtless ranked, cannot yet be persuaded that food and intellect are alone sufficient to constitute their well-being. *Under protest*, therefore, I see no objection to your professing some belief in a superhuman power, which, indeed, has certain advantages, and is not without a kind of poetical beauty. The idea of one God is, in truth, a “magnificent conception,” philosophically considered, but there are limitations under which it must be entertained. You must be quite sure that your intellect is sufficiently developed to understand it, or it will not only be “utterly inoperative,” but will, because premature, only be a “perturbing influence” in the way of your natural progress. If you are not sufficiently advanced, you will find Fetichism or some form of Polytheism much better suited to your requirements. But if you do adopt this creed, you must be, above all things, especially careful to recognize this God *only* as an abstract idea, without attributes or powers; otherwise you will be acquiring superstitious feelings of dependence, and limiting your own volitions and expansions.—*Hallowed be Thy name.* If this phrase means anything, it is objectionable, since to hallow the name of an abstract powerless idea is an absurdity. *Thy kingdom come.* *Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.*—Here the hypothesis becomes complicated; there is a heaven of which we know nothing, a scene of imaginary acts, in obedience to an unknown will; for I take it for granted that no one who listens to me is weak enough to place any faith in what is called an “external revelation.” If there must be a kingdom then, take care that it is a Merovingian kingdom, in which you are mayors of the palace; do your own will, and endorse its acts with any name you like: do it energetically, and if intellectually, you need not be particular (if your aim is universal progress) as to the morality, or otherwise, of your acts; for your “good or evil deeds will produce but temporary results,” but your “intellectual discoveries will be immortal.” *Give us this day our daily bread.*—To this I must decidedly object as

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\* See the Catechism of Positive Religion.

“impious;” it is “prostituting the rites of religion,” to obviate “the results of our own sloth.” Your food depends on the soil and your own labour; go and work,—if you cannot get it that way, die; for it is “childish” to invoke Divine power in such a cause, and totally useless. God (if there be one) has no more power to disturb the order of nature than you have.—*Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.* As to your part in this proposition, you must act as seems best to you in each case; “expediency”\* is the true principle of legislation, and, therefore, doubtless, of private conduct. *Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.* All this is, of course, unmeaning: our own desires and passions are but the creatures of an “irresistible law” of the “necessary connexion of events;” we cannot escape from the consequences. To be sure, in the present imperfect state of society, if we commit crimes in obedience to them, and are found out, we shall be punished; most unjustly, as it appears; but the punishers are also irresistibly compelled to act as they do. It must be confessed that a perfect theory of society and law is as yet difficult to frame.—*For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever.* If you like to put a Childeric or a Chilperic on a phantom throne, it will make no practical difference; but no power or glory must be ascribed to him; the power is yours, and yours only; and the glory must be given to those who have taught you to recognise and act upon these great truths. Let me, in conclusion, remind you that food and climate having originated civilization, intellect has carried it on, unassisted by any laws of morality, and in spite of all the “hindrances” caused by “religion, literature, and forms of government.” The case being so,—and the proofs of it are irrefragable,—I need not further point out how absurd and illogical it is to seek aid in such progress from any other source. *Valete et plaudite.*

Mr. Buckle’s ideas on the influence of literature on civilization are distinguished by as much originality as those on religion. “Literature, in itself, is but a trifling matter” (p. 245). “Knowledge must be acquired before it can be written.” The benefit which Europe has received from literature” is owing, not to what the literature has originated, but to what it has preserved.” It is merely a symptom, not a cause, of the progress of nations. “Individual men may, of course, take great steps, and rise to a certain height above the level of their age. But if they rise beyond a certain point, their present

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\* See p. 416, on the character of Burke.

usefulness is impaired ; if they rise still higher, it is destroyed." Mr. Buckle afterwards, with an inconsistency which greatly characterizes his work, attributes the occurrence of one of the most important events in history, the French Revolution, to the writings of Voltaire and the Encyclopædists. Having before stated that the "amount, direction, and *diffusion*" of knowledge are the sole dynamic agencies in civilization, he now denies the importance of by far the most powerful means of accomplishing its diffusion.

Whilst a belief in the efficacy of religion is weak, and in that of literature foolish, any dependence upon governments is repudiated with a scorn which is unbounded. The notion that the civilization of Europe has been at all advanced by any governments "must appear so extravagant, as to make it difficult to refute it with becoming gravity. Indeed, of all the social theories which have ever been broached, there is none so utterly untenable, and so unsound in all its parts, as this." Like literature and religion, governments are only *symptoms* of the state and progress of the people. "No great political improvement, no great reform, either legislative or executive, has ever been originated in any country by its rulers!!!" (P. 258.) Except in the preservation of order, and the punishment of crime, whatever governments have done, "they have done amiss;" "their laws in favour of industry have injured industry; their laws in favour of religion have increased hypocrisy; their laws to secure truth have encouraged perjury;" and though religion has done much to obstruct progress, governments have done infinitely more; and the sole end and aim of future governments must be "to restore things to that natural channel, from which the ignorance of preceding legislation has driven them" (p. 253). By this time we shall not be startled when we find Mr. Buckle complaining of the introduction of the art of writing, as having corrupted history; of the change of religion in Europe, because it subverted old traditions; and of the conservation (or "monopoly") of history by ecclesiastical writers, at a time when it was likely to become extinct.

At one view, the theory of civilization, as developed in this very remarkable work, is as follows: In all cases, food and soil and the aspects of nature have been the primary agents in instituting progress. When once instituted, it has assumed two distinct types—one, the Asiatic and tropical, marked by the ascendancy of nature over man—the other, European, marked by the ascendancy of man over nature.

The mental progress which marks and constitutes the latter is twofold, moral and intellectual; but moral truth being stationary, *can have no influence whatever* on any progressive



movement. Therefore, European civilization is "entirely due to intellectual activity"—Q. E. D.

Religion, literature, government, foreign influence—all these are merely disturbing causes, doing more or less harm, according to their potency, but quite incapable of effecting any good. Whatever good they may seem to do, is local and temporary, and becomes in some way "balanced and equalized." Moral feelings certainly influence the acts of every *individual*, but (as nations are not aggregates of individuals) they exercise no general influence.

When Mr. Buckle's theory is thus disentangled from the vast stores of learning in which it is involved, a perusal of it leaves a grave doubt on the mind, whether or not this ponderous volume (promising many others) has been written as a solemn joke, to test the credulity of readers of history and philosophy. If it be a joke, it is a most highly laboured one, and consequently, *as such*, eminently unsuccessful; one withal which it is "difficult to discuss with becoming gravity." If not, it evinces a lack of *causal* perception, and crudeness of analysis, which we could scarcely have supposed possible in one so deeply read.

Let us take one illustration. In the last two thousand years, our own country has experienced a vast revolution in morals, religion, intellect, literature, and government. The changes in these particulars have been (to use a favourite phrase of our author's), "taking a long average" synchronous; they have kept pace one with the other. There is no greater difference between the intellect of the nineteenth century and that of the first, than between the morals or the forms of government of the same epochs. We have no vestige of historical evidence that improved intellect *preceded* the other coetaneous changes, especially in morals and religion; we have very strong testimony, and that from writers hostile to Christianity, that, in our own country, and on the Continent, the change from paganism to Christianity was the direct stimulus to intellectual development, its source and support. Yet, in the face of all this, Mr. Buckle selects *intellect* as the first and only dynamic agency in this progress; intellect, which has been in no one sense *more progressive* than either religion or government; intellect, which, in contradistinction to morals, is eminently and essentially unsocial and undiffusive; intellect, which was at its highest point of activity when the gorgeous civilizations of Greece and Rome were compelled to succumb to the brute force of barbarism; intellect, which, disassociated from a moral law has ever proved, and ever will prove, utterly inefficient in preserving any community or state in prosperity.

Our limits have only allowed us to discuss the broad outlines of the earlier chapters of this able but mistaken work. In the subsequent chapters, the history of intellect in England and France from the middle of the sixteenth century is sketched, and ample material is produced for the refutation of the previous theories. The other volumes of the "General Introduction," are to contain an investigation of the civilizations of Germany, America, Scotland, and Spain. Until these appear, we have thought it better not to enter into any detailed historic illustrations, which will be more complete when the materials for general comparison are furnished.

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#### ART. V.—THE STIPENDS OF NONCONFORMIST MINISTERS.

*The Congregational Economist : and Advocate of Liberty and Progress.* Conducted by the Rev. Joseph Parker. No. 1. April, 1858. London : Judd & Glass.

WE are in full-hearted sympathy with those great evangelistic societies which, during the month of May, have been celebrating their anniversaries in London. Perfection we know is not to be attained by imperfect men, even in their noblest works ; and, therefore, we do not greatly wonder that keensighted criticism has discovered evils, and that ungenerous discontent has loudly proclaimed them, in the administration and general conduct of our best managed religious organizations.

No doubt a great deal too much of the money collected for foreign missions is spent at home ; but how can this be avoided so long as every provincial town insists on having a missionary every year with gods in his bag, or "a native" by his side to amuse them on the platform, and a famous, eloquent, over-worked minister from London, to plead with them from the pulpit ? No doubt the secretaries in Moorgate Street and Bloomfield Street get a great deal of influence among the churches—influence enabling them greatly to help a young or unknown minister, or greatly to injure him—influence which may be sometimes unwisely, unkindly, or carelessly used ; but how are these gentlemen to avoid possessing this unrecognised and unconstitutional power, while deacons who want a minister so frequently step into the office of the — Society, when they happen to be in town, to ask the omniscient secretary to recom-

mend "a likely man;" and while ministers who want churches so frequently resort to the same calumniated personage for information, advice, and assistance, in reference to vacant pulpits?

And, perhaps, the speeches at the meetings are sometimes overloaded with pretentious commonplace; now and then the flattery of noble chairmen may be quite too gross; ardent orators may exaggerate the greatness of the work which has been done, or indulge in rhetorical display when they ought to be using the precious time and the great opportunity to bind the hearts of the people more firmly to God's work, and to secure for it the grave and steadfast co-operation of conscience as well as the tumultuous but transient aid of the feelings. But we are afraid that the speakers and the audience have generally too much in common, and that the real blemishes of the platform are sometimes very welcome to the great majority of the assembly. Now and then, however, the divine fire kindles, and consumes in an instant all the wood, hay, and stubble; a passing vision is caught of the true grandeur of our crusade against dominions, principalities, and powers; a holy fervour pervades the vast audience; and multitudes leave London in the middle of May with warmer hearts and more determined loyalty to Christ than they brought from the country at the end of April.

We have expressed thus fully our confidence in the great organizations of Christian zeal, because the topic for which we beg the attention of our readers for ten minutes, is often introduced by unnecessary, unwise, and injurious declamation, about the contrast between the generosity with which the Leviathan societies are supported, and the niggardliness of which too many of the churches, both of the Baptist and Congregational denominations, are guilty towards their pastors. If, indeed, our ministers could not be adequately supported without contracting the general operations of Christian benevolence, we certainly think that, since we ought to be just before we are generous, it would be the duty of the churches to limit for a time their missionary activities, and to fill the cupboards, wardrobes, and libraries, of those who "preach the Gospel" and should "live by the Gospel." But we do not believe that we are placed in this painful dilemma. Even in this liberal age an increase of liberality is possible. The steam is not yet at such high pressure that any increase of its power would produce an explosion. There are no signs yet, if the engineers may be trusted, of any such appalling catastrophe. A pound or two more on every square inch will involve us in no danger.

Mr. Parker, of Banbury, has just started a little magazine to



remind us all of our deficiencies, and to point out the best way of securing improvement. He advocates "liberality and progress;" liberality in the practical, prosaic meaning of the word, and progress in deeds as well as in principles. We fear that his sanguine temperament has somewhat underestimated the difficulties which have to be surmounted. The very principles on which the financial system of our churches is based must be revised. A complete revolution is needed in the ideas of the great mass of the people about the pecuniary necessities and claims of the ministry. The change can only come as the result of very patient and persevering labour.

We shall not in this article plunge into the thorny controversy about the possibility of harmonizing the administration of a great supplemental aid fund, with the free action of independent churches, or discuss the merits of the weekly offering scheme; our chief object being to deal with the preliminary question, whether it is desirable that the poverty of our ministers should cease.

We believe that there are very many good people, thorough going Protestants, and uncompromising nonconformists in all their other opinions, who still retain a lingering affection for the old Romish fancy about the sanctity of poverty. The hair shirt, fasting, flagellation, celibacy, are quite abandoned. Dissenters have learnt the lesson which John Owen taught so well when he said that ascetics imagine they are mortifying the sinful body when they are only mortifying the natural body; but the sanctifying power of poverty is still part of their creed. Not that they ever dream of divesting themselves of their wealth, abandoning the luxurious mansions in which many of them live, and adopting the garb of pauperism, and choosing a garret or a hovel for their home; they leave to the ministry all the discipline of pecuniary anxiety, and, while untroubled by their own perils, fear that if their pastors' houses became more comfortable their hearts would become less zealous and devout. If "the care of this world and the deceitfulness of riches" are unfriendly to the growth even of that measure of piety which is expected in the pew, it is supposed that wealth, or even comfort, must be utterly fatal to the spirituality expected in the pulpit. And hence, when we plead for an increase of ministerial salaries, we are not unfrequently met with hints about the importance of an unworldly spirit and the peril connected with the enjoyment of the luxuries of life. We "ask for bread," aye, literally for "bread," and they give us, not indeed "a stone," but something still less substantial, and quite as cold and hard-hearted—a sermon.

The most obvious, and, perhaps, the best reply to all this is,

that poverty in itself is an evil, and that although God has a right to employ it in order to purify and spiritualize the hearts of his servants, they have no right to employ it to sanctify each other. The "Father" may chastise his children in order that the "peaceable fruit of righteousness" may be seen in them; but brothers and sisters have no right to use the rod upon each other. Sickness is, perhaps, a still more effectual discipline of holy principles than poverty; but we should think it odd if churches manifested their anxiety for the spirituality of their ministers by taking care that the walls of the chapel-house were damp, and that the vestry was built over a sewer; by giving unaired beds to ministerial guests: and by ingenious devices for inflicting on an indolent or sluggish pastor, the small-pox or the scarlet-fever. The troubles of ministers will be quite heavy enough, no matter what may be the generosity of their flocks; and the deeper sources by which the heart of a faithful pastor is tried are more likely to chasten his spirit, to purify his motives, and ennoble his work, when his mind is free from the distraction of temporal anxieties.

Moreover, we seriously question the healthy influence of the pecuniary straits in which some good men live from the day of their ordination to the day of their death. The heart of a minister ought to be full of genial affection towards his people; but his generous sympathies are likely to be chilled when he passes the handsome carriage of one of his deacons or sees afar off the costly silks of "devout and honourable women," and remembers how shabby his wife's best dress is getting, and how she was obliged to stint herself in the purchasing of warm clothing last winter. Doubtless he ought to give his undivided heart to the spiritual welfare of his church; but his prayers will be often hindered and his preparation for the pulpit often disturbed, if his mind is racked with anxiety about how to avoid debt. People wonder how it is that his public devotions are a little flat and his sacramental addresses rather cold at times; that he does not throw his whole soul into his preaching, as of old; they do not know that there is a vision haunting him more terrible than Macbeth's spectral dagger—a file of unpaid bills!

How often have we heard admirable observations on the evil of a minister's dividing his attention and distracting his energies by lecturing about the country to Mechanics' Institutes; but what can be done if the lecturer, when he receives the next application from an admiring committee-man or entreating secretary, is lured by the prospect of the two or three guinea fee which will enable him to get a new coat, pay his next month's butcher's bill, send a remittance to a poor relation, or

purchase a long-coveted copy of an ancient philosopher or divine? This reviewer's craft of ours is rather friendly, we think, if exercised in moderation, to the vigour, freshness, and variety of a minister's pulpit and platform work; but we are sure the flock will not be better cared for if, night after night, the busy pen of their pastor is scratching away through the welcome and stimulating silence on the merits of a new poet, the heresies of a new theologian, the absurdities of a new India bill, or even the scholarly excellence of a new Greek Testament; and yet, we ask again, what is to be done, if, when courteous "Mr. Editor" suggests a new subject for an article "which would just suit your taste, and which I can trust to your hands with peculiar confidence," &c., &c., &c., the flattering words are radiant with the reflected lustre of the cheque which will brighten the good wife's eyes and gladden her heart by enabling her to fulfil without any qualms of conscience some secret and mysterious plans about additional furniture for the nursery or some cherished desire to visit dear old friends far away?

And then how reasonable it is for warm-hearted friends to protest when they learn that their minister, who left home for his annual holiday quite pale and weary, has been preaching every Sunday during his absence, instead of taking necessary rest! Why did he not go to the Lakes or to Scotland, or up the Rhine to Heidelberg, and on to the dark forests and glittering snowdrifts and glaciers of the glorious Alps? Why? Because by arranging to supply a vacant pulpit or to preach for his old college chum, he not only yielded to his love of work, which is a passion with some men, but had his holiday at less cost to his purse. He would have come back, however, with a cooler brain, stronger nerves, and a firmer step, if he had been able to spend all the month among the mountains, or idly floating on lake and river, or inhaling fresh life and vigour every moment while he wandered under the shadow of mighty cliffs or pulled an oar with a queer old boatman in a foaming sea.

But we have spoken of the devices by which the most happily placed ministers supplement what are regarded by hundreds as enviable salaries. Dreary, dreary is the destiny of good men who by their inadequate incomes are driven to sacrifice family quiet by receiving half-a-dozen noisy boys to instruct in the rule of three and the Latin Delectus, and whose minds are disturbed at night while seeking solace and stimulus in the pages of Sir Thomas Brown, John Howe, or a borrowed volume of Ruskin, by the remembrance of the vexatious and inexcusable stupidity, in the afternoon, of Master Charles Heavyhead over his French exercise. And more dreary still is the lot of multitudes besides, the pensioners of



charitable trusts, the recipients of the ten or fifteen pounds doled out by their associations, the representatives of insurance societies, the agents for Scotch publishers, and canvassers on behalf of new periodicals or flattering schemes for issuing, in parts, popular Biblical cyclopædias, or impressions, in folio or quarto, of the Sacred Book itself. It would be better by far that a good man who is just kept half an inch above starving point by incessant watchfulness for windfalls of this kind should put on an apron and engage himself to weigh sugar and candles over the counter of his friend and arch-deacon, the principal grocer in the High Street.

We have shrunk from unveiling the scenes of suffering which we know exist in the family of many a poor minister. Have our readers ever tried deliberately to estimate what is left to buy bread and meat for a minister and his wife, with four or five children, after his black coat and the cheap materials in which she and the boys and girls are dressed have been paid for, after the house-rent and the taxes have been met, and sundry other little items attended to, which are grievous burdens to a poor household, though the wealthy never feel their pressure? If not, will they be kind enough to sit down, the first spare half-hour that falls in their way, and learn from their own calculations what must be the condition of a frightfully large number of our ministers, men who once had their high hopes and their elastic energy, but whose spirit has been crushed out of them by a protracted struggle for the bare necessities of life. Who will dare to say that this disheartening destiny is favourable either to the intellectual vigour or spiritual earnestness demanded by the duties of the pastorate?

We venture to suggest another test of the respective advantages of comfort and of hardship in connexion with ministerial work; for the conviction of the grave injuries to be apprehended from "the deceitfulness of riches" is too deeply rooted in some minds to be easily dislodged. The test we propose is a practical one; let experience determine whether it is necessary that the ministry should be poor in order to be devout. The saintly Fenelon not only wore a mitre, but was surrounded by the pomp and splendour of the most magnificent of European courts. The unearthly piety of Jeremy Taylor shone with undimmed lustre among the coronets of English nobles. Howe was familiar with Whitehall. John Owen wrote some of the most precious and beautiful of his devotional works while Dean of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. But the list might fill pages instead of a paragraph, and still be incomplete.

From the dead let us turn to the living. Who are the ministers that are regarded with most admiration, listened to with deepest delight, requested most frequently to preach on all kinds of occasions, and boasted of as the very crown and glory of their respective denominations? We never heard that our friends who are in such fear about "the deceitfulness of riches," and have such faith in the spiritualizing power of ninety or a hundred a year, regard the pastors of Bloomsbury Chapel and the Diorama with distrust, and yet these excellent gentlemen occupy "golden stalls" when compared with some of their brethren. In the sister denomination we have heard it whispered—how truly we do not pretend to say—that the eloquent and ardent minister of Surrey Chapel, presiding over a church of more than a thousand members, has an annual income of a thousand pounds; that the venerable author of the "Anxious Inquirer" drives one of the most comfortable broughams in Birmingham; and that the genial and generous pastor of Great George Street, Liverpool, lives in a style worthy of the large and wealthy congregation to which he preaches. It is passing strange that these are precisely the men who are most warmly loved and most deeply respected—and deservedly so—by the very persons who are most anxious to keep the ministry poor, in order to prevent it becoming worldly.

But were not the Apostles poor, and may it not be supposed that the condition which God chose for these illustrious men would be the best for the ministers of Christ in all ages? A plausible argument. But shall we abandon our civil liberty because apostles were persecuted; invite oppression because imprisonment strengthened rather than enfeebled their earnestness, and stoning made their Christian graces shine out with dazzling lustre? It is one thing to endure poverty through the malignity of enemies, and another to endure it through the neglect of friends. There is a paragraph in the preface to Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," which we commend to the careful meditation of those who advocate poverty for the clergy, on the ground of the apostolic precedent. Mr. Hallam, we remember, questions Hooker's right to the epithet "judicious;" for our own part we are willing for the sake of the last sentences of our extract, which we have italicised, to grant him every title of honour that the most enthusiastic of his admirers have ever claimed for him:—

"The chiefest thing," writes the grave old Churchman, "which lay-reformers yawn for is, that the clergy may through conformity in state and condition be apostolical, poor as the Apostles of Christ

were poor. In which one circumstance if they imagine so great perfection, they must think that church which hath such store of mendicant friars, a church in that respect most happy. Were it for the glory of God, and the good of his church indeed, that the clergy should be left even as bare as the Apostles, when they had neither staff nor scrip; that God, which should lay upon them the condition of his Apostles, would, I hope, endue them with the self-same affection which was in that holy Apostle, whose words concerning his own right virtuous contentment of heart, 'as well how to want as to abound,' are a most fit episcopal emprise. *The Church of Christ is a body mystical. A body cannot stand unless the parts thereof be proportionable. Let it therefore be required on both parts, at the hands of the clergy, to be in meanness of state like the Apostles; at the hands of the laity to be as they were who lived under the Apostle; and in this reformation there will be, though little wisdom, yet some indifferency* (i.e. impartiality).

But the fears of our friends for the imperilled spirituality of the Pastorate may be dismissed. Should the most ambitious schemes for a supplemental aid fund be realized, the most sanguine expectations of our finance reformers be fulfilled, the most daring demands yet made in behalf of the ministry, completely met, "the deceitfulness of riches" will still be a very remote danger. But it should be remembered, that "the care of this world," which also chokes the word, is as likely to be felt by the poor as by the wealthy; it may be occasioned by having too little for comfort, as well as too much; by the difficulty of getting necessities, as well as by the temptation to enjoy superfluities.

We are convinced that very much of the evil we complain of arises from two causes:—

First, the ignorance of the church and congregation about the financial arrangements made with the minister.

Secondly, the present system of pew letting.

I. That, as a matter of fact, very little is known by the mass of the people about the way in which the minister is supported, needs, we imagine, no confirmation. It is too notorious. Indeed we think it never strikes the minds of seven-eighths of the members of our churches that the pastor needs regular pecuniary aid, and that they are the persons to provide it. Whether it is imagined that ravens still feed hungry prophets, or that spiritual men need no physical sustenance, or that in some mysterious way Providence insinuates five pound notes into the minister's pocket-book, or prevents his flesh from wasting away on his bones, and his coat from wearing into holes on his back, we cannot divine. But the probability is, that the question, How their minister lives? never occurs to them, any



more than it occurs to them to inquire into the probable income of the man in the moon. If the thought does occur sometimes, it is put aside by the very reasonable supposition that everything must be going on right or the deacons would bring the subject before the church. Now, we think that if the deacons did their duty, they would take care that every seat-holder had full and exact information every year, of the way in which the minister was being supported; and care would be taken to lay before every individual what *he* was doing for the minister's comfort. If thought were once awakened—if the subject had a fair consideration, we have such faith in the generosity of the people, that we believe there is scarcely a church from one end of England to the other which would not double its minister's salary.

II. This can only be done, however, by some change in our pew system, which should either be altogether abandoned, or largely supplemented by additional voluntary contributions for the support of the pastor. In a very able book, full of valuable suggestions, and full, too, of mischievous exaggerations and mistakes, we mean Mr. Porter's "Lecture on Independency," there are some thoughts on this subject worth remembering. He puts this matter in a very striking way:—

"If we suppose," he says, "that in most of our chapels three shillings, or three shillings and threepence per quarter is the price of a single sitting, about threepence per week is paid by each attendant, and for threepence, therefore, a man can consider himself entitled to the benefit of two services on every Sunday, besides that of any services that may be maintained in the week, in addition, perhaps, to various cares for his children, and to a share of his minister's gratuitous attendance at marriages, baptisms, funerals, and many less definite occasions."

It must surely be acknowledged that there is no proportion between the magnitude of the services rendered by the minister and the threepence a week paid by the congregation. His services, indeed, cannot receive adequate pecuniary remuneration. The worth of the stimulus to holy living, the comfort in trouble, the warning against temptation, the tranquillizing of earthly anxieties, and the brightening of celestial hopes which are supplied by the sermon, cannot be estimated in "silver and gold." But the minister ought to be placed not only above want, but beyond anxiety. What he needs for comfort, for recreation, for intellectual culture, for the education of his family should be freely and ungrudgingly provided for him. We do not wish to see wealth made an inducement to men to enter the ministry, but we think it an injustice and a shame

that poverty should be made the penalty for undertaking the noblest of human occupations. Our large churches are not free from blame, and we believe that what was said by a minister at the Congregational Union Meeting at Cheltenham, last autumn, about the sufferings of ministers with what are called moderate incomes is quite true; many a village pastor with a hundred and twenty pounds a year is far better off than his brother in the neighbouring market-town with a couple of hundred; aye, and even *he* is better off than the popular minister ten miles off, with a large and respectable church and three hundred a year. A minister's household and personal expenses and the demands on his benevolence, obviously increase with the magnitude of the town in which he lives and the importance of his congregation; and it should also be remembered that the higher his position the heavier are his labours, and the greater his need of everything by which toil is lightened and strength maintained, the more imperative does it become that he should be abreast of the literature of the day in all its various departments, and have his library shelves loaded with the learning and wisdom which are constantly issuing from the press. He must read scores of books every year in which he has little personal interest, in order that he may be thoroughly informed of the constant changes which are occurring in the outlines of modern theological thought, and be prepared as opportunity offers to protect his people from the perils of the times. These are not days in which it is safe for the men who occupy the more prominent pulpits in the land to be recluse, bookish men, strangers to the life which is surging around them. But a contracted purse is likely to induce a contracted mind. Pecuniary resources are necessary to command the influences by which all the faculties are kept in a vigorous and healthy exercise on the events of the passing hour.

We commend what we have written to the thoughtful attention of two classes of people. Let those who value their ministers ask themselves whether their gratitude exhausts itself in verbal thanks and admiration. Let those who complain of the inefficiency of the pulpit inquire whether pecuniary anxiety has made their minister cold and feeble; and instead of annoying him with complaints, let them try the effect of a generous increase of his salary. We venture to prophesy that in scores of cases this prescription would answer wonderfully.

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## ART. VI.—THE FREE-CHURCH ESSAYS.

*Essays by Ministers of the Free Church of Scotland.* Edinburgh : Thomas Constable & Co. 1858.

THE Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh Essays are among the pleasantest volumes that have recently issued from the press, and we think that the members of the Free-Church have fully proved their right to stand by the side of the great universities. The subjects of the Essays lying before us are very various, and all are discussed with ability and learning. It is a disadvantage that all the writers belong to one profession, though there is far less monotony of tone in the volume than might naturally have been anticipated. But however dissimilar the original endowments of nine or ten men may be, all of whom have chosen one great and absorbing work, and however dissimilar the particular studies to which they have severally devoted their spare time and strength, the influence of their professional reading and of their professional duties must reveal itself in the tone and style of their productions. This general principle would hold true of lawyers and medical men, but it is specially true of ministers. Ministers are scarcely ever permitted to put off the black coat and the white neckerchief, and become mere men. The traditions of their office, the expectations of society, prevent it in the case of many; intense devotion to spiritual work, and profound impressions of the solemnity of ministerial and pastoral obligations prevent it in the case of some. Just now and then, indeed, above the groaning shelves in the study of a powerful popular preacher, we may catch sight of the joints of a fishing-rod, and see in the hall an unorthodox "wide-awake," bearing indubitable signs of having had many a line twisted round it; and we know a learned theological professor who testifies that his Hebrew and Syriac investigations are greatly prospered by his carrying a gun occasionally over the Scotch moors; but we fear that many good people would be horrified at the idea of having a minister whose eye and wrist were familiar with the blissful mysteries and toils of the trout-stream, or who had the reputation of being a dead shot. The church will grow wiser by-and-bye, and will not think a man's soul less true to the highest aims of Christian life, because he has a fresh and hearty enjoyment of the innocent recreations by which the blood is purified and the nerves are strengthened. And among other good results which will follow from breaking down the professional fences and proprieties which surround the pulpit, will be a fuller sympathy on the part of the ministry with



every form of human struggle and sorrow, greater freshness, variety, and independence of thought.

But we repeat, that there is less of the professional tone in these Essays than we should have expected. They are written, with one exception, by ministers of the Free-Church, who have received ordination since the disruption in 1843. The preface, by Dr. Hanna, has some very sensible observations on the healthy stimulus which the occasional publication of such a volume is likely to give to the studies of the younger ministry.

It is impossible for us to enter into anything like a discussion of the subjects of the Essays. We have been especially interested in that by Mr. Burns on Catholicism and Sectarianism; in that by Mr. Blackie on Old Testament Light on our Social Problems; by Mr. Macgregor on the Haldanes; by Dr. Edersheim on Bohemian Reformers and German Politicians; and on the Future of India, by Mr. Smith, a missionary at Calcutta. The breadth of view and liberality of the first deserves special commendation.

The appearance of this volume affords a fair opportunity for reducing opinions which we fear are gradually gaining strength in many quarters, and are likely to have a very injurious influence. The excitement produced by the recent evangelistic labours of some unlearned preachers, both in the North and in the South, the immense congregations they collect, and the admiration awakened by their undivided consecration of all their energies to the work of the pulpit, are leading some good persons to under-estimate the importance of solid learning and general literary culture to the Christian ministry. Let them remember that though it may be all very well for an evangelist, who never preaches a dozen times to the same congregation, to burn his books and read nothing but the Bible, a minister who has *teach* the same to seven or eight hundred people every Sunday, must not be perpetually reiterating the same elementary truths, and continually employing the same familiar illustrations. The weary labours of the student may perhaps do something to unfit most men for being vehement, exciting, popular preachers; but they are absolutely essential to the devout, judicious, and successful pastor. It will be a dark day for our churches when the ministry shall be compelled to abandon theology, scholarship, philosophy, and science, and to live constantly in the eye, or rather ear of the public. Poverty of thought, and shallowness of religious life, will be the inevitable consequence. We, therefore rejoice at every influence likely to favour the scholarly and thoughtful habits of the ministry. Why should not the Independents and Baptists of England try their hand at a similar volume of Essays?

## Quarterly Review of German Literature.

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GERMANY, its literature and theology, must ever engage a large share in the interest and the sympathies of Protestant Churches. We can neither forget what we owe to the country of Luther, nor how important the bearing which its religious state has upon our own and other lands. But if we calmly inquire into the present state and the prospects of evangelical religion on the Continent, we confess, with sadness, that our hopes are by no means so sanguine as those of many who have spoken or written on the subject. Beneath the surface of general orthodoxy are most dangerous elements, which threaten a destruction more fearful than has yet taken place. In truth, the Churches of Germany have, since 1848, committed a series of grievous blunders. Before that period, orthodoxy was by no means a favourite with many of the governments. Accordingly, open opposition within and without the Church was tolerated. The Rationalists, and "the party of enlightenment" (as they loved to call themselves), were at that time combated only with arguments, nor were the circumstances and prospects even of a theologian affected by his peculiar creed. We grant that in practice this led to shameful abuses, and to singular inconsistencies. Still, by its own inherent power and reality, evangelical Christianity was, step by step, advancing to complete victory. But, after the eventful year of revolutions, governments came to identify the party of enlightenment with that of political progress, and every effort was made to preserve both Church and State in the old *statu quo*. The aspect of affairs is now completely changed. Every divergence from the formularies of the Church exposed—at least in the great majority of the German States—to temporal consequences, which few, destitute of genuine principle, were willing to encounter. In consequence, of a sudden, everybody became "Churchly," while the Churches, instead of zealously prosecuting their former work of evangelization, and jealously guarding themselves against an amalgamation with the State, and its retrograde policy, eagerly grasped the proffered boon. Outwardly, Rationalism now seems dead, and a new era to have dawned upon the country. But really, the ground is undermined. The people have little confidence in the Church; immorality and ungodliness are not on the decrease; the enemies of the Gospel seem filled with more bitter animosity than at any previous period; the number of theological students is continuously and very largely decreasing; and the Church itself is rent into most hostile factions—Ritualism and covert Rationalism contending against an enlightened and earnest piety. When the crisis, which seems at hand, takes place, the result will, we fear, be sufficiently serious.

We have traced the religious state of Germany only in its most general outlines. It may be added, that thinking men in that country are becoming alive to the danger, and that the works before

us frequently refer to it, some in the language of alarm, some in that of advice, and some even in that of triumphant exultation. A very fair idea of the present ecclesiastical state of Germany may be gathered from Pastor Matthes' "General Ecclesiastical Chronicle for 1857,"<sup>1</sup> which gives an account of the various deliberative meetings of the clergy, of German home, and foreign missionary operations, of the state of religious parties and of theological literature, of the measures on religious questions taken by various governments, of the state of Dissenting bodies, and of the progress of Romanism. The meetings of the Evangelical Alliance, held last autumn in Berlin, seem to have attracted much greater attention than we could at all have anticipated. Instead of viewing them simply as an expression of fraternal union and sympathy, friend and foe combine in attaching to them a meaning which, we are sure, the British members of the Alliance at least, have never entertained. Scarcely a German tractate on ecclesiastical questions, which we have lately perused, but dwells on this point. Some rejoicingly declare that with these meetings the day of narrow ecclesiasticism is gone by; others think that the nine articles subscribed by members of the Alliance constitute the basis of a new Church; while another party lament that the idea of a "Church" is now completely dissolved into that of a union of sects. Professor Piper's "Evangelical Almanac" for 1858,<sup>2</sup> is scarcely so interesting as it had been in 1857. The publication contains articles by Krummacher, Hoffmann, Piper, Semisch, Schmiedt, Giesebrecht, and others, some of which are very able, others only indifferent. But the plan of the work deserves imitation, and the book is enriched by a lithograph, taken from an ancient MS. in the Library at Paris, representing the meeting of the Second Council of Constantinople in 381, where the errors of Macedonius and Apollinaris were condemned. What renders this illustration so interesting is the circumstance, that on the raised throne in the middle of the assembly, not the representative of Rome, but *an open Bible* is placed. The correctness of this picture is amply confirmed by the testimony of Cyrill of Alexandria. A very useful and practical publication is that entitled "The Evangelical Clergyman," by Pastor Löhe.<sup>3</sup> Originally a series of lectures addressed to missionary students, it has, very properly, been given to a larger public. Besides the reprint of an old tractate (dating from 1528) on clerical duties, it gives equally apt and judicious counsel to young ministers on the discharge of their office, and also contains a course of lectures on the psychical treatment of persons labouring under various diseases. The latter, though brief, are practical and sound. In the "councils to the clergy," we specially note admonitions to careful

<sup>1</sup> Allgemeine Kirchliche Chronik. Von R. Matthes. 4ter. Jahrgang. Leipzig: G. Mayer. 1858.

<sup>2</sup> Evangelisches Jahrbuch, für 1858. Herausgegeben von Dr. F. Piper. 9ter. Jahrgang. Berlin: Wiegandt u. Grieben. 1858.

<sup>3</sup> Der Evangelische Geistliche. Von W. Löhe. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Liesching. 1858.



preparation of sermons, and an advice that, as a general rule, the discourse should not extend beyond half an hour—suggestions these not uncalled for among ourselves. Mr. Lessing's tractate on "The Hope of the Christian"<sup>4</sup> is a calm and sober exposition of millenarian views, by a layman. A work of considerable importance is Professor Schenkel's "Christian Dogmatics,"<sup>5</sup> of which a first volume lies before us. The author laments that all inquiry is in danger of being stifled amidst the unthinking shouts of ecclesiastics, who of a sudden have become orthodox, and who, instead of studying the great questions of Christianity, waste their strength in party squabbles. While we partly agree in this view, we fear that Dr. Schenkel's Dogmatics will not help to clear the way, or to set aside difficulties. We gladly acknowledge his candour, learning, and the elegance of his style; but for the bright noonday of the Gospel truth his book seems to us to substitute only the dim twilight of a subjective mysticism. The *conscience* of the individual is exalted as the great organ for receiving and determining religious truth; inspiration is transformed into an unusual religious impression upon the conscience brought into immediate contact with the Divine, and which, in proportion as it has been affected, reacts on the mind and heart of the inspired writers. Such a theory, to say the least, is exceedingly vague, unsatisfactory, and dangerous. Instead of an infallible directory of faith and manners, it leaves the Bible only a collection of tractates by men enjoying different degrees of inspiration, and hence more or less liable to error, mistakes, or omissions. Instead of possessing in the Bible a fixed, objective test, we should have to submit that book itself to a varying and uncertain subjective standard of personal feelings and impressions. More unqualified is our approbation of Professor Kurtz's "Bible and Astronomy,"<sup>6</sup> which has just appeared in a fourth and considerably enlarged edition. This little work discusses the main questions as between natural science and the Bible, and that not only in a devout spirit, but in scientific manner, and yet in popular language.\* Lastly, Dr. Oehler, who is so well known for his patristic lore, has just commenced a series of selections from the Fathers, by giving us certain tractates of Gregory of Nyssa.<sup>7</sup> On opposite pages the original Greek and a German translation are found, while critical notes are occasionally appended. The undertaking deserves the attention of students.

<sup>4</sup> Die Hoffnung des Christen gemäss d. biblischen Hoffnungslehre dargestellt. Von Th. Lessing. Stuttgart: Besser. 1858.

<sup>5</sup> Die Christliche Dogmatik vom Standpunkte des Gewissens aus dargestellt. Von Dr. Schenkel. Vol. I. Wiesbaden: Kreidel u. Neinder. 1858.

<sup>6</sup> Bibel und Astronomie nebst Zugaben verwandten Inhaltes. Von Dr. J. H. Kurtz. Berlin: J. A. Wohlgemuth. 1858.

\* We have the pleasure of informing our readers that a condensed translation with notes, of this work and of Dr. Kurtz's History, by the Rev. Dr. Edersheim, of Aberdeen, will be shortly published.—ED. EC. REV.

<sup>7</sup> Bibliothek d. Kirchenväter. Eine Auswahl aus deren Werken. Urschrift mit deutscher Uebersetzung. Von Dr. F. Oehler. 2 vols. Leipzig: Engelmann. 1858.

In ecclesiastical history we first note a publication by Professor Schmid, of Erlangen, on "The Theology of Semler."<sup>8</sup> The important bearing of that teacher on the history and development of Rationalism would have deserved an earlier, even as it merits a more comprehensive, treatise than that under review. The son of a poor pastor, the youth of Semler fell in a period when the earnestness of religion had very generally given place to maudlin cant, and piety degenerated into pietism. Under outward pressure, old Pastor Semler also yielded to this movement, but his son, though at one time impressed, yet, when the fatal alternative of learning or pietism was presented to his choice, made selection of the former. In those days, ignorance, and too often hypocrisy also, were associated with pietism. Young Semler, full of ardour for learning, speedily threw himself into the opposite movement; of which, for a time, he became the leader. His principle of distinguishing between public and private creeds is well known. In virtue of it, while retaining an orthodox creed as the bond of outward ecclesiastic connexion, a man might, as his reason or folly dictated, believe anything or nothing. Semler became really the father of Rationalism, and, for a season, his fame with a certain party was unbounded. But, withal, our professor wished to remain a Christian, and, when one of his followers exceeded the bounds of prudence, and the celebrated "Wolfenbüttel Fragments" appeared, he actually had the hardihood to write against them. This was too much for friend and foe, and amid a perfect torrent of obloquy the old man lived to outlive himself. All these circumstances are well known; not so, perhaps, that, in his latter years, Semler busied himself with the study of alchemy, and firmly believed in the "*elixir vitæ*," and in his own power of producing gold! Dr. Schmid's book has scarcely answered our expectations. True, it is not so heavy or prosaic as Semler's "Autobiography," who has managed to convert even the "most interesting scene" in the life of a young man into a piece of ridiculous clumsiness; but it sadly wants depth and breadth. We are glad to be able to announce that another part of Mr. Gindely's "History of Bohemia and Moravia,"<sup>9</sup> has appeared, which brings the narrative to the year 1609. The work has lost nothing of its former accuracy and thoughtfulness, although Popish and Jesuit leanings on the part of the author appear more distinctly. In the general facts of this history, the present volume adds little to our store of knowledge; but it supplies abundant details as to the state and tactics of the various parties. We have turned with eager curiosity to those passages in which Mr. Gindely discusses the question whether the demands of the Protestants, which ultimately led to the rebellion of 1618, were justly founded on the charter of religious liberty granted by the Emperor Rodolph, or not. In this respect our inferences

<sup>8</sup> Die Theologie Semler's. Dargelegt von Dr. H. Schmid. Nördlingen: Beck. 1858.

<sup>9</sup> Böhmen und Mähren im Zeitalter der Reformation. Von Anton Gindely. Vol. II., Sect. 2. Prag: Bellmann. 1858.

differ from those of the learned Bohemian, and we hold that, legally, the preponderance of evidence is in favour of the Protestants, while viewed morally it cannot for a moment be doubted that the opinion was generally entertained that "the letters of Majesty" had secured to all *full* liberty of worship. We are anxious to see how in future volumes our author will vindicate the Popish party from the stain of abominable cruelty, which attaches to their "Counter-Reformation in Bohemia." A work of considerable interest, and the perusal of which we would recommend to "party men" generally, and especially to those in Germany, is Mr. Jörg's "History of Protestantism in its Latest Development."<sup>10</sup> The author is editor of a Popish journal, and the two volumes before us, consisting chiefly of reprints of articles in his paper, are consequently somewhat loose and disconnected. But the lessons which this work is calculated to convey are of the most solemn and important character. Theological parties, individual tendencies, and the state of the various Churches are submitted to close examination. The division in the camp, the reappearance of Ritualism, the gradual and certain diminution of Protestant students of theology, and the corresponding increase in the Popish Church, are all carefully noted. Another saddening page is that which details the ungodliness and immorality in some parts of Protestant Germany. The book abounds, indeed, with misstatements and exaggerations, after the most approved Roman fashion. Still there are points to which attention should be directed. Thus, besides the circumstances above mentioned, we are told of the fearful immorality prevailing in Prussia in consequence of the facility with which marriages are dissolved, the annual number of divorces being, on an average, no less than 3,000! Of the Duchy of Mecklenburg we read that, during the year, in three churches, two hundred and twenty-eight diets of public worship had to be omitted, because not a single individual appeared; and, again, that during the course of one year, the number of illegitimate births in two hundred places amounted to one-third, in one hundred to one-half, while, in seventy-nine, literally every child born during that year was illegitimate! We are familiar with such painful statistics in reference to Popish countries, such as Austria and Bavaria; but, we confess, we were not prepared to find them in Protestant Germany. Making allowance for the exaggerations and misrepresentations of an avowed enemy, the residuum left is sufficient to engage the serious attention of every Bible Christian. The "Retsh-Almanac,"<sup>11</sup> edited by Dr. Ebrard, consists of poetical and prose contributions, of various merit, and is published by an association formed for raising funds to build a Protestant cathedral, on the spot where the celebrated "Protest" was originally delivered, from which our Churches have derived their common name. We have some time ago referred to the Luther

<sup>10</sup> Geschichte des Protestantismus in seiner neuesten Entwicklung. Von J. E. Jörg. 2 Vols. Freiburg: Herder. 1858.

<sup>11</sup> Retscher-Almanack, herausgegeben vom evangelischen Vereine der Pfalz. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1858.



monument about to be erected at Worms, and we readily take this opportunity of calling attention to the kindred undertaking at Speyer. Those who are interested in hymnology will welcome Dr. Geffcken's publication on "The Hamburg Hymnbooks of the Sixteenth Century,"<sup>12</sup> of which abundant specimens are given. Able historical notes on the hymnology of various Protestant cities, and especially of Hamburg, render the book useful to historical readers generally. We are glad to know that the last traces of a Rationalist vandalism, which had so sadly mauled the hymns of Germany, are fast disappearing. It were unjust to conclude our notices of works on Church history for this quarter, without giving a sentence of well-merited praise to Dr. Jost's "History of Judaism and its Sects,"<sup>13</sup> of which a second volume has just appeared. The author continues to display painstaking industry and accuracy, combined with a rare amount of candour and fearless independence. If anything were to be wished, it might be a form less dry, and a style somewhat more picturesque. The volume before us brings the narrative down to the year 1204.

Among the exegetical treatises on our table, the first place undoubtedly belongs to Chevalier Bunsen's great work on the Bible,<sup>14</sup> of which a first part has just appeared. The learned author informs us that a retranslation of the Bible, and its adaptation for the use of educated laymen, has been the object of his studies and desires for forty years. We may, therefore, expect to find here the matured views of a scholar, which, however, we are sorry the limit assigned us will prevent us from examining in detail. Our readers are sufficiently aware that from many of the Chevalier's fundamental principles we entirely dissent. At the same time, we are bound to admit that, in the work under notice, they are not stated either so broadly or so offensively as in his former volume on "God in History." The part before us contains an introduction, prolegomena, chronological and synchronistic tables, and a new translation of Gen. i.—xi., with notes. Amidst much that is able and excellent, exceptions just and weighty will be taken. Not to speak of those divergences in principle to which we have already alluded, and the objections now widely, and, we believe, properly, entertained to Bunsen's "Egyptian Chronology," the views expressed in the notes to the short portion of the text given in this part are widely different from those held in common by evangelical Christians. Throughout, a misty and mystical spiritualism prevails, which substitutes what to us seem entirely foreign *ideas* for the *facts* recorded in Scripture. Thus, angels are only the "properties of

<sup>12</sup> Die Hamburgischen, Niedersächsischen Gesangbücher des 16ten Jahrhunderts, Kritisch bearbeitet u. herausg. Von Dr. J. Geffcken. Hamburg: Meissner. 1857.

<sup>13</sup> Geschichte des Judenthums u. seiner Sekten. Von Dr. J. M. Jost. Vol. II. Leipzig: Dörffling u. Franke. 1858. London & Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.

<sup>14</sup> Vollständiges Bibelwerk für d. Gemeinde. In 3 Abtheilungen. Von C. J. Bunsen. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1858. London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.

God"—an idea, an image; "the seventh day" denotes the era of man, when God rests in man; the fall only took place ideally; "the serpent" is the representation of reason separated from conscience, &c. After making these exceptions, it is but fair to bear testimony to the learning and information contained in the prolegomena, and to the elegance and occasional improvement in the translation. Chevalier Bunsen thus renders the opening sentences of Genesis: "In the beginning, when God created heaven and earth, and the earth was void and desolate, and darkness brooded over the flood, and the breath of God moved over the water, God said: Let there be light!" We had almost forgotten to mention the most curious of all interpretations we remember having seen, according to which our author converts the cherubim with the sword of flaming fire into volcanic agency—"an allusion to that contest of elements in the catastrophe in Northern Asia, which we call the flood." Truly, if the subject were not so serious, we might be tempted to exclaim: "the force of criticism could no further go." Very different is the tendency of Professor Lange's theological and homiletic work on the Bible,<sup>15</sup> of which the first parts have just reached a second issue. General introductions are followed by a corrected version, and the notes are divided into critical, dogmatical, and homiletic sections. In the latter, each section is arranged for the purposes of sermons or lectures, and the leading thoughts are brought out. The work is altogether very well executed; the notes are comprehensive, able, and sound; and we are sure that some such publication, or a condensed translation of this work, would prove of material benefit among ourselves. For clergy and laity there is in these pages abundant aid towards understanding and explaining the sacred text. Equally delighted have we been with Dr. Osiander's "Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians,"<sup>16</sup> of which learning, ingenuity, and soundness, are prominent characteristics. The work deserves a place by the side of the Commentaries of Olshausen. Lic. Elster furnishes a good translation of, and short notes on, the Book of Proverbs<sup>17</sup>—serviceable for the critical student. Mr. Vaihinger's translation, rearrangement, and commentation of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs<sup>18</sup> is the work of a scholarly, conscientious, and painstaking writer. We have been specially pleased with the new arrangement and explanation of Ecclesiastes. Our fundamental views on the Song of Songs, however, are different from

<sup>15</sup> Theologisch. homiletisches Bibelwerk. Die heil. Schrift alten u. Neuen Test. mit Rücksicht auf d. Theol. Homil. Bedürfniss d. Pastor. Amtes. herausg. von J. P. Lange. Bielefeld: Velhagen u. Klasing. London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.

<sup>16</sup> Commentar über d. Zweiten Brief Pauli an d. Korinthier. Von Dr. O. E. Osiander. Stuttgart: R. Besser. 1858. London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.

<sup>17</sup> Commentar über d. Salomonischen Sprüche. Von E. Elster. Göttingen: Dieterich. 1858.

<sup>18</sup> Der Prediger u. d. Hohelied, d. Urschrift gemäss rhythmisch übersetzt u. erklärt. Von J. G. Vaihinger. Stuttgart: Belser. 1858. London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.

those of Mr. Vaihinger, who regards it as a piece of history, in which the Shunamite, faithful to an early love, successfully resists the allurements and entreaties of Solomon. We must not omit in this branch of literature to mention the completion by Professor Roediger of Gesenius's "Thesaurus."<sup>19</sup> The fasciculus before us contains indices, additions, and emendations—partly also from the pen of our own Dr. Tregelles.

In homiletics we have a few unimportant publications. Superintendent Twele's "Sermons on the Epistle to the Galatians,"<sup>20</sup> contain little which, in this country, at least, would entitle them to the honour of publication. Mr. Löhe has commenced a serial in which the epistles of the day are made the subjects of discourse.<sup>21</sup> The work promises well, and what of it has appeared, is fresh and racy. If any of our readers are interested in the questions pending between the Lutherans and the Reformed, or in the pleasant relations which may be supposed to exist, when of two ministers who preach in the same church, one is Lutheran and the other Reformed, we would recommend him to peruse Dr. Gillet's defence against his quondam colleague, Dr. Falk.<sup>22</sup> However, the tractate is not without its historical interest, detailing, as it does, the exact state of the Reformed Church in Silesia. Dr. Pischon, of Berlin, has given us a curious little book on baptismal names,<sup>23</sup> which are enumerated in their alphabetical order, explained, and illustrated by a brief sketch of the principal personages who have borne them.

In opposition to Christianity, we have happily only two books to report upon, and neither of these of a character to frighten the reader. In a series of letters, Dr. Frauenstädt,<sup>24</sup> while professedly advocating natural religion, really avows himself an atheist. The ease with which that writer sets aside arguments and arrives at conclusions, the confidence and self-satisfaction with which he declaims, are perfectly astounding. Of this, however, are we certain, that if atheism in Germany cannot muster better advocates, or produce more conclusive reasoning, it will prove very harmless indeed. In his "Harmony between the Results of Natural Science and the Demands of the Soul,"<sup>25</sup> Mr. Drossbach has favoured the world with a system which at least has the merit of novelty. Fired with

<sup>19</sup> G. Gesenii Thesaurus Philol. Crit. Linguae Hebraeae et Chald. Vet. Test. T. III. Fasc. Noviss. Digessit et edidit Ae. Roediger. Leipzig: Vogel. 1858.

<sup>20</sup> Der Brief d. Apostel Paulus an d. Galater ausgelegt in Predigten. Von E. Twele. Hannover: Rümpler. 1858.

<sup>21</sup> Epistel-Postille für d. Sonn und Festtage d. Kirchenjahres. Von W. Löhe. Stuttgart: Liesching. 1858.

<sup>22</sup> Die Reformirten in Schlesien u. d. Union. Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Kirchengeschichte. Von Dr. Gillet. Breslau: Dülfer.

<sup>23</sup> Die Taufnahmen. Eine Weihnachtsgabe. Von Dr. F. A. Pischon. Berlin: G. Reimer. 1857.

<sup>24</sup> Briefe über d. natürliche Religion. Von Dr. J. Frauenstädt. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1858.

<sup>25</sup> Die Harmonie d. Ergebnisse d. Naturforschung mit d. Forderungen d. menschlichen Gemüthes, oder d. persönliche Unsterblichkeit als Folge d. atomistischen Verfassung d. Natur. Von M. Drossbach. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1858.



the praiseworthy desire of satisfactorily establishing the immortality of the soul, and yet convinced that with our present views of men and matters, that result can never be reached, our philosopher has fallen upon a new device. Mahomet and the mountain shall meet half-way—natural science and religion shall both be made to bend, and thus to agree. For this purpose we are introduced to the “atomistic theory”—men and matters being just a composition of ultimate atoms. Stones, plants, and men are, after all, only gases—so many kinds of atoms, and merging by regular gradation into one another. We shudder to repeat what this author says of the great and holy Creator. But how, withal, will the reader ask, does Mr. Drossbach prove the immortality of the soul? In the easiest manner possible. The self-conscious atom, or man, who at present feeds only upon unconscious atoms, lives, begets atoms which, like his food, had formerly had no consciousness, and then dies, or himself becomes an unconscious atom, *pro tempore*. But everything has its bounds, and the time will arrive when mankind shall in the course of feeding have consumed all unconscious atoms. What next? Why the race must then, in a certain sense, become anthropophagous, or set to devouring those atoms which at one time had been men or conscious atoms, and thus a new race will be begotten, which at a previous period had already existed on earth. Such is the train of argument to which we are invited—in which, in truth, it were difficult to discover traces of atoms—at least of sense.

Passing from theology to *history*, we note that the great undertaking, originally planned by Perthes—the “History of European States”—is nearing completion. Successive volumes (and if we mistake not, the series already embraces between fifty and sixty tomes) have quite sustained the reputation which it had gained from the first. The volume now before us (by Mr. Zinkeisen) continues the history of Turkey from the year 1669 to 1774.<sup>26</sup> The period embraced in it is, as we all know, of the greatest importance for the proper understanding of the Eastern Question, and of the relations between Russia and the Porte. We deliberately say that its execution leaves nothing to be wished for, and presents the only satisfactory account of those events, with which we are acquainted. In a very well written volume, Mr. Peschel describes “the century of of discoveries,”<sup>27</sup> giving a complete history of the discovery of of America, and of the two sea routes to the East. The references are copious, and prove that the author has not drawn from *second-hand* sources.

In *literature*, we are interested to find that Mr. Bodenstedt has commenced giving to the German public a translation of the works of Shakspeare’s contemporaries. The volume before us contains a translation of, and notes on, the works of Web-

<sup>26</sup> Geschichte d. Europ. Staaten Herausg. Von A. H. L. Heeren u. F. A. Ukert. Gesch. d. Osmanischen Reiches in Europa. Von J. W. Zinkeisen. Vol. V. Gotha: F. A. Perthes.

<sup>27</sup> Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen. Von O. Peschel. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta. London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1858.

ster.<sup>28</sup> Mr. E. Dorer has republished, with notes, the dramas and other poetical fragments of Roswitha, the celebrated nun of Gandersheim,<sup>29</sup> composed in the tenth century. Lastly, we call attention to the appearance of a new literary journal at Frankfort-on-the-Maine.<sup>30</sup> The part before us gives favourable notices of Lewes' "Goethe," and of Motley's "Dutch Republic." But in general it does not contrast very favourably with similar productions in our own country. Manifestly, periodical literature is not the *forte* of our German friends.

We close our review with brief notices of a few works on ancient history and manners. Mr. Knötel, whose views on Egyptian chronology and history, diverge from those of Bunsen, Lepsius, and Böckle, has been made the object of unsparing attack by a young and clever philologist, Mr. Gutschmid. In a "System of Egyptian Chronology,"<sup>31</sup> Mr. Knötel now replies. In turn, Mr. Gutschmid himself has been severely handled by the Chevalier Bunsen; and writes a tractate against him, entitled "Contributions to the Ancient History of the East."<sup>32</sup> The subject of these publications is of great practical importance to the student of ancient and of Bible history, and should attract greater attention amongst scholars in this country. A well-known writer, Dr. Gladisch,<sup>33</sup> furnishes a tractate, to prove that the philosophy of Empedocles simply carries out the ancient Egyptian views concerning the world. But the most astounding antiquarian work which we have perused—at least, for a long time—is that by Dr. Krause, entitled "Plotina,"<sup>34</sup> and treating of the various modes of dressing the hair among the ancients. We confess that it not unfrequently reminded us of Carlyle's "Philosophy of Clothes." An amazing amount of erudition is brought to bear on the subject—and throughout the book, with much of pedantry, runs a quiet vein of satire, not unfrequently recalling the celebrated "Professor Teufelsdröckh." The work is accompanied by a large number of illustrations. It will, we doubt not, be gladly received by *savants*, as a literary curiosity; and in the present state of society may afford useful hints and information in Paris, and even in London. If we are to have extravagances in head-gear and dress, by all means let them at least be classical!

<sup>28</sup> Shakspere's Zeitgenossen u. ihre Werke. Von F. Bodenstedt. Vol. I. John Webster. Berlin: Decker. 1858.

<sup>29</sup> Roswitha, die Nonne aus Gandersheim. Von E. Dorer. Aarau: H. R. Sauerländer. 1857.

<sup>30</sup> Kritische Monatshefte zur Förderung d. Wahrheit bei Literar. Besprechungen. Herausg. Von einem Vereine Deutscher Gelehrten. Frankfort: Meidinger & Co.

<sup>31</sup> System d. Ägyptischen Chronologie übersichtlich entwickelt nebst e. Kurzen Abrisse d. ält. Ägypt. Gesch. Von A. Knötel. Leipzig: Dyk. 1858.

<sup>32</sup> Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Alten Orients. Von A. v. Gutschmid. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1857.

<sup>33</sup> Empedokles u. die Ägypter. Eine Historische Untersuchung von Aug. Gladisch. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1858.

<sup>34</sup> Plotina, oder d. Kostüme d. Haupthaars bei d. Völkern d. Alten Welt, dargestellt u. durch 200 Figuren auf 5 Tafeln veranschaulicht. Von Dr. J. H. Krause. Leipzig: Dyk. London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1853.

## Brief Notices.

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CHRISTIAN HOPE. By John Angell James. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1858.

MR. JAMES has laid the Church of Christ under additional obligation by the publication of the volume before us. Having already issued works on Faith and Charity, he completes "the apostolical trio of Christian graces" by the present treatise on Hope. The first chapter of the book is devoted to the consideration of hope generally, and forcibly does the author show that it is "the main-spring of human action—the lunar influence that keeps the tide of human affairs in perpetual and healthy motion." He then passes on to define Christian hope, and to point out its distinction from faith and love; then its foundation and object, and the various aspects it has in relation to the work of salvation are presented and discussed; and lastly, the necessity and means of strengthening it are considered. The writer has evidently well digested his theme, and written it in such a manner as cannot fail to be attractive, and to commend the subject to his readers. The great danger in such a work is a dry abstract method of treatment. This, Mr. James has happily avoided; and while there is an absence of everything approaching the rhetorical, the style is full of vigour and life. We heartily commend the volume to the perusal of our readers, and trust that its circulation will be as wide as the established reputation of its author justly claims for it. We must not, however, omit to mention that it is dedicated to the venerable author's colleague, the Rev. R. W. Dale, M.A.—a compliment as touching as it is graceful, and one as honourable to him who tenders as to him to receive it. And while it cannot but be a source of gratitude to Mr. Dale, that he so entirely possesses the confidence and esteem of the author, it will be no less gratifying to the friends of Mr. James, to know that the reverend gentleman associated with him in his pastoral duties, is one of whom he can say, "In the prospect, and which at my time of life cannot be a remote one, of laying down the ministry I have received of the Lord, it is a profound satisfaction to me to believe that the same great doctrines which are here professed will continue after my retirement or decease, in your sermons, to be the themes of the pulpit which we now jointly occupy." (Dedication, p. vi.) It is a source of satisfaction to ourselves that Mr. James has such a pleasing prospect before him towards the close of his long and eminently useful life—but we trust that, long as he has already laboured, the Great Head of the Church will yet vouchsafe to him many years of usefulness and peace.

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MELIORA: a Quarterly Review of Social Science. London: Partridge & Co.

THE MORAL STATISTICS OF GLASGOW. By William Logan, Commissioner of the Scottish Temperance League.

*Meliora video proboque, deteriora sequor*, might be the motto of many



a periodical contributor; but if we may judge from the promises of the prospectus, and from the contributions forming this number, "*Meliora*" is rightly named, and is likely to be, according to its promise, "a first class review." From the specimens before us, we have no reason to doubt that the writers not only see and approve the better things, but are willing and able so to present them as to win the approval of all who may be happy enough to attend to them. Such a work, however, demands something more than talent and industry to commend the subject to those who are not already quite awake to its importance. Scientific exhibitions of truth require instructed minds to appreciate them, but well-coloured pictures of social condition secure the attention of all classes. We would, therefore, advise that a large admixture of lively narrative and personal matter should enter into this review of social science; or, like other works that get a good name, it will be approved without being read, and so with abundance of the most useful intelligence in its pages, prove but of small profit either to the public or the proprietors. Every article in this number is good in its way; but, after all, there seems to be a feeling that stories are the attraction to readers in general, and so we have here in the midst of statistics, "*A Glimpse of Family History*," by way of relief from percentage reasonings. Reviews are often enough lightly written, but they often prove heavy enough in the reading; and we think this review wisely departs from its reviewing in the first number—at least its readers will not complain of the departure—for certainly the story entitled, "*Keeping Up Appearances*," is as teaching, and telling, and touching, as anything in No. I. of "*Meliora*."

As this advocate of social amelioration seems to come out under the auspices of the United Kingdom Alliance for the Suppression of Intemperance, we place Mr. Logan's pamphlet with it, since that pamphlet well shows how intemperance frustrates the best efforts to ameliorate society, by causing disease, derangement, and pauperism, with crime, and prostitution, and every other form of profanation.

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THE EIGHTEEN CHRISTIAN CENTURIES. By the Rev. James White. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1858.

UNFORTUNATELY good and readable manuals on universal history are so rare among us, that we ought to hail the appearance of even inferior contributions towards so desirable an object. Somehow, history has in our schools been degraded into dry chronology, or into a wearisome succession of unconnected facts, till popular prejudice has, practically, almost banished it from our class-rooms. These remarks are not, however, meant in any way to depreciate Mr. White's work, which we have perused with considerable satisfaction and pleasure. In strict critical language, we can neither designate it as a *history* of the eighteen Christian centuries, nor as a series of essays on the subject. The book is not sufficiently full and connected to lay claim to the first title, nor so loose as to merit the second appellation. It is rather a summary of leading facts, which may well serve

as an introduction to a more full and detailed history. We know not of a better work to place in the hands of young persons, or more suited to give the reader a general acquaintanceship with the great outlines of past events. Written in elegant language, furnished with all the attractions of a pictorial style, the reader is in it carried down the stream of time. His accomplished guide at the helm points out, on either bank, castles, battle-fields, cities, churches, and memorable places, and narrates in graphic language what has occurred, and what men have thought and done. With a "handy book" like this, we shall no longer have any excuse for historical ignorance. Of course in such a rapid survey we neither expect fulness of details nor originality of research. Still events which to us appear of great importance—especially in the history of Germany—are occasionally omitted, or too briefly indicated. Nor can we always admit the historical accuracy of every statement. Thus we are not disposed to estimate the *ambition* of Gregory VII. at so high a figure as Mr. White does. Much more emphatically must we object to the statement of our author, that the principles of the Albigenses (or *Cathari*), "when stript of the malicious additions of enemies, were not different from the creed of Protestantism at the present time." It is now well ascertained that the Albigenses had very little in common even with the *precursors* of the Reformation. In truth, their principles were little different from those of the ancient Manicheans; their "perfect" men were quite other than the converts of Protestantism; and the characteristic feature of their religion, the "*Consolamentum*," has no analogy in Protestantism. Similarly, we would have placed the wanderings of the *Flagellants* rather in the fourteenth than in the fifteenth century, as an examination of their history will show. We might also object to the unqualified statement, "There would seem no close connexion between Bohemia and England, yet in a very short time the doctrines of Wickliffe penetrated to Prague." The Bohemian Reformation was not *wholly* of British origin, and there *was* a close connexion between Bohemia and England, owing partly to the marriage of "Good Queen Ann," the sister of the Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, with Richard II., and partly to the intercourse between the universities of Oxford and of Prague. But, with the exception of the error about the *Cathari*, these are but slight blemishes in a really able and thoroughly useful work, which a revision will readily remove. We cordially congratulate the author on a production which, as it must have cost him a good deal of study, promises to be eminently successful, and our readers on the possession of a work which they should make haste to procure. If Mr. White will allow us another suggestion, we would recommend him to add an *index*, to make the style a little less pictorial, and to omit a too frequent reference to the *popularity* of the Mediæval Church. If we have appeared minute in our exceptions, our error has arisen from our appreciation of the volume, and from our desire to see it a manual in common use.

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**HALLELUJAH :** or, Britain's Second Remembrancer. In Praiseful and Penitential Hymns, Spiritual Songs, and Moral Odes, &c. Composed in a threefold volume by George Wither. With an Introduction by Edward Farr. London : John Russell Smith, Soho Square. 1857.

**GEORGE WITHER**, though now but little known, was a conspicuous character in this country in the time of the Charleses and Cromwell. He rendered himself notorious by his satires, in which he lashed the vices of the court and ecclesiastical dignitaries ; by "The Scourge," and "Abuses, Whipt and Stript," for which he suffered imprisonment. He was a patriot, a pious man, and a Puritan, and laboured, in conjunction with such men as Herbert and Sandys, to restore sacred poetry to its proper rank in the literature of this land. His earlier poetry seems to have possessed considerable merit. His "Shepherds Hunting," written in prison, says Campbell, contains the very finest touches that ever came from his hasty and irregular pen. The same writer observes his works are occasionally marked with originality of thought, while some of his earlier pieces display the native amenity of a poet's imagination. The editor of this work says truly that there is a natural love of truth and simplicity which has put life and an enduring freshness into all that he has written. The work whose title we have given has long been out of print. It is now presented afresh to the public after slumbering in obscurity two hundred years. We cannot say, with the present editor, that "The Hallelujah ; or, Britain's Second Remembrancer," is poetry of a high order, at the same time, we think pieces may be selected from the volume worthy of insertion in our books of sacred and devotional song. We might quote the first and the last of these hymns in justification of this statement.

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## Monthly Review of Public Events.

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WE have had a month of intense excitement, worthy of a far more elaborate and extended review than our space permits us to bestow upon it. The great event, of course, has been the struggle in the Commons, occasioned by the publication of the **ELLENBOROUGH** Despatch. Even the Upper House was aroused from its dignified quietude to unwonted vivacity, when Lord **SHAFTESBURY** brought forward what was virtually a vote of censure on the government ; while in the Lower House, the heat and fierceness of the debate on Mr. **CARDWELL**'s motion far surpassed anything that has been known since '46. The battle is over now, but its importance will justify an explanation of what we believe to be the real merits of the great controversy.

Lord **CANNING** sent to Sir **J. OUTRAM** the draft of a proclamation confiscating the estates of all the landholders of Oude, who had



taken any part in the mutiny, but offering mercy and a restitution of their rights to all who should make a speedy tender of allegiance to the British government. Sir J. OUTRAM objected to the severity of the proclamation, partly on grounds of policy, alleging that it would alienate from us a very powerful class which we should rather endeavour to conciliate; and, partly, on grounds of justice, maintaining that the talookdars of Oude had some reason to complain of the injustice inflicted in the course of our land settlement, when we annexed the country, and that the annexation itself was so recent that they had a right to be considered as engaged in a legitimate war rather than a rebellion. The Governor-General acknowledged the force of Sir J. OUTRAM's criticisms, and permitted him somewhat to modify the severity of the original document, but determined to abide by its main principles. Mr. VERNON SMITH received a private letter from Lord CANNING, in which his lordship anticipated that objections were likely to be raised at home against the proclamation, and promised to explain and justify it. Mr. SMITH did not hand the letter to the President of the Board of Control. When, however, Lord ELLENBOROUGH read the proclamation, he thought he had found a grand opportunity for exercising the high prerogatives of his newly acquired office: he had once rejoiced in the glory of being himself the great potentate and ruler of the East; he was now something loftier still, the monitor and master of that exalted functionary. He wrote, as his lordship well knows how to write, a high-toned and eloquent condemnation, not only of Lord CANNING, but of Lord DALHOUSIE too; virtually justified the Oude rebellion as a national and patriotic movement, and impeached our title to that kingdom. By a concatenation of what are called "accidents," this despatch was laid on the table of the House of Commons, published in every English newspaper, circulated through Europe, and transmitted to the insurgent population of India. The representative of English rule in the East, in a moment of peril and unparalleled difficulty was thus publicly insulted and rebuked by an English minister; and before our empire had quite recovered from a violent assault, our very title to dominion was questioned, not by a revolted rajah, or a mutinous sepoy, but by the President of the Board of Control.

The publication of the despatch was atoned for almost immediately by the resignation of Lord ELLENBOROUGH; his colleagues, while regretting that the offensive paper should have been published approved its principles. We can scarcely imagine that any reasonable person will defend an act which even the ministry acknowledged to be unfortunate; but many right-minded men have expressed themselves very strongly on the severity of the proclamation. We can, in a very few words, express our own estimate of it.

The system of land-tenure which we found in India is altogether unlike anything with which we are familiar in Europe, and to judge Lord CANNING fairly we should remember its peculiarities. Three parties claim, and justly claim, an interest in the soil; the actual cultivators, organized usually into village communities, the

zemindars, who, having been originally mere farmers of revenue, have struggled into the possession of proprietary rights, and the government. Injustice is inflicted by the ignoring of the claims either of the state, or of the so-called "land-holders," or of the actual tenants and cultivators. The last must not be dislodged without sufficient cause, or too heavily burdened; the share of the zemindars must not be confiscated, except for high crimes and misdemeanour; nor can the land-tax, which is of the nature of a rent rather than a tax, be alienated from the government. Now in Oude, the second of these parties had, almost to a man, rebelled against us, either by personally engaging in the war, or by helping the rebel army with provisions or treasure. The farmers had not revolted, but the zemindars or warlike chiefs of Oude had, with scarcely half-a-dozen exceptions, joined our foe. Lord CANNING determined, therefore, not to appropriate all the land to the government, as some have recklessly asserted, but, leaving the actual cultivators in the enjoyment of all their rights, to "confiscate" the revenues of the rebellious middlemen, offering, however, to reinstate, in their old position, all who should promptly return to their allegiance. He was not guilty of plundering a nation; but determined to seize the revenues of some 500 or 600 men, whose tyranny and rapacity had of old inflicted terrible evils on the mass of the people, and who were in actual rebellion against the lawful government; he promised restitution only to those who should speedily tender their submission. This is the head and front of his offending. We have stood by Lord CANNING throughout the mutiny, and we stand by him still.

The regret, which our love of justice excites, that the ministry have escaped the punishment they deserve, is somewhat lessened by the consideration, that had they been removed, the only possible government would have been one from which it seems vain to hope that the spirit of clique-ism will ever be exorcised; and, till that can be done, we have no wish to see Lord PALMERSTON in office. However, we would despair of no man; and though statesmen are not the aptest pupils, perhaps it is not too late for his lordship to learn some valuable lessons in the school of political adversity.

Sir J. TRELAWNEY's Bill for the Abolition of Church Rates is still victorious in the Commons, and every attempt at compromise meets with a humiliating defeat. The Jew clause in the Oaths Bill has been lost in the Lords, by a majority of 119 to 80. In securing Baron ROTHSCHILD's appointment in the Committee of the House of Commons, to consider what action is to be taken, in consequence of the defiant attitude of the Peers, Mr. DUNCOMBE exhibited his ancient wit and ingenuity.

We had intended to say something about the BISHOP OF EXETER's Commission for inquiry into the religious destitution which the Establishment has failed to relieve, about the meetings of the great religious societies, the progress of the American revival (a subject to which we intend shortly to devote an article), and the Royal Academy Exhibition; but impatient printers, and decreasing space compel us to forbear.

## Books Received.

- Angel's (An) Message.** Being a Series of Angelic and Holy Communications received by a Lady. John Wesley & Co.  
**Anti-Slavery Advocate (The),** for May. Wm. Tweedie.  
**Apostolic Missions; or, Sacred History Amplified and Combined with the Apostolic Epistles, &c.** Groombridge & Sons.  
**Aspect of Paris.** By Edward Copping. Longmans & Co.  
**Atlantic Monthly Magazine (The),** for May. Trübner & Co.  
**Baptist Magazine,** for May. Pewtress & Co.  
**Bible Class Magazine,** for May. Sunday School Union.  
**Biblical Liturgy.** Nos. II. and III. Ward & Co.  
**Bibliotheca Sacra.** Vol. XV., April. Trübner & Co.  
**British Controversialist (The).** Part I. Houlston & Wright.  
**Carey's Translation of the Book of Job.** Wertheim, Macintosh, & Hunt.  
**Child's Own Magazine (The),** for May. Sunday School Union.  
**Christ and Missions.** By the Rev. W. Clarkson. John Snow.  
**Christian Hope.** By John Angell James. Hamilton, Adams, & Co.  
**Chronology for Schools.** By F. H. Jaquemet. Longmans & Co.  
**Commentary Wholly Biblical.** Part XIX. Samuel Bagster & Sons.  
**Congregational Economist,** for May. No. II. Judd & Glass.  
**Congregational Pulpit,** for May. Judd & Glass.  
**Cruelest (The) Wrong of All.** Smith, Elder, & Co.  
**Cruise (The) of the Betsey: with Rambles of a Geologist.** By Hugh Miller. Constable & Co.  
**Divine (The) Authority of Holy Scripture: a Sermon.** By R. W. Ferguson, B.A. J. Hatchard.  
**Eden Family (The).** By Jeremiah Dodsworth. Partridge & Co.  
**Education (The) of the Human Race.** From the German of Gotthold E. Lessing. Smith & Elder.  
**Evangelical Meditations.** By the late Rev. Alexander Vinet, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.  
 London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co.  
**Evangelical Christendom: its State and Prospects,** for May. The Evangelical Alliance.  
**Extraits Choises; or, Selections from Modern French Writers.** Longmans & Co.  
**French Finance and Financiers under Louis XV.** By James Murray. Longmans & Co.  
**Geological Difficulties of the Age Theory.** By Andrew Taylor. Edinburgh: R. Lendrum & Co.  
**Gnomon of the New Testament.** Vols. II., IV., and V. By John Albert Bengel. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.  
**Greek (The) Testament Roots.** By G. K. Gillespie. Walton & Maberley.  
**Historical (A) and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament.** Genesis—Hebrew and English; Ditto, English Edition. By M. M. Kalisch, Phil. Doc., M.A. Longmans & Co.  
**Hermeneutical Manual.** By Patrick Fairburn, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Hamilton & Adams.  
**Humboldt's Cosmos: Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe.** Vol. IV., Part I. Longmans & Co.  
**Hymns of the Church Militant.** James Nisbet & Co.  
**Introduction (An) to Grammar on its True Basis.** By B. H. Smart. Longmans & Co.  
**Jamaica: its Curse and Cure.** By Alexander Renton. Kingston, Jamaica: Ford & Gall.  
**Jewish Chronicle (The).** Nos. 176, 177, 178, 179. Office: 7, Bevis Marks.  
**Leaves from a Minister's Portfolio.** By the Rev. D. Fraser, A.M. James Nisbet & Co.  
**Lectures (Three) on Medicine and Medical Education.** By W. T. Gairdner, M.D. Simpkin & Marshall.  
**Lectures (Three) on the Early History of the Society of Friends in Bristol and Somersetshire.** A. W. Bennett.  
**Leisure Hour (The).** Parts 74, 75, 76, 77. Religious Tract Society.  
**Liberator (The),** for May. Houlston & Wright.  
**Library of Biblical Literature.** No. XLVI.—The Science of the Ancients. Sunday School Union.  
**Life of Cardinal Mezzofanti.** By C. W. Russell, D.D. Longmans & Co.  
**London University Magazine,** for May. No. XXXV. A. Hall, Virtue, & Co.  
**Love Made Perfect: illustrated in the Life and Diary of Mrs. Elizabeth Pickford.** Hamilton & Co.  
**Macaulay's History of England, from the Accession of James II.** Vol. VI. Longmans & Co.  
**Mather on the Present State and Prospects of Christian Missions in India.** John Snow.  
**Memorial of an Only Daughter.** By her Mother. Sampson Low, Son, & Co.  
**Money Bag (The).** No. I.—Literature, Politics, Finance. Daniel F. Oakey.  
**Notes on the Scripture Lessons for June, 1858.** Sunday School Union.  
**Not Your Own: a Sermon.** By the Rev. E. Mellor, M.A. John Snow.  
**Philosophy (The) of Teaching; or, Psychology in relation to Intellectual Culture.** R. Griffin & Co.  
**Pilgrim (The) at Home.** By Sheridan Wilson. Wertheim, Macintosh, & Hunt.  
**Presbyterian (The) and Protestant Dissenter in the Army and Navy.** John Snow.  
**Professor Wilson's Works.** Poems. Vol. XII. William Blackwood & Sons.  
**Pulpit Observer (The).** No. I., April. Judd & Glass.  
**Puseley's Hand-Book to Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand.** Effingham Wilson.  
**Revival of Religion: What it is, and how to be Obtained and Manifested.** By John Brown, D.D. Hamilton & Adams.  
**Sacrifice (The) of Christ.** By Charles Williams. Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.  
**Sermon of One Syllable.** By Rev. H. N. Bousfield. Hamilton, Adams, & Co.  
**Sunday (The) at Home.** Parts XLVI., XLVII., XLVIII. Religious Tract Society.  
**Thy Word is Truth: an Apology for Christianity.** By Rev. John Cumming, D.D. A. Hall & Co.  
**Twelve (The) Minor Prophets.** Translated from the Original Hebrew by E. Henderson. Hamilton, Adams, & Co.  
**Union Magazine for Sunday School Teachers,** for May. Sunday School Union.  
**Voice (The) of Christian Life in Song.** James Nisbet & Co.  
**Zwingli; or, the Rise of the Reformation in Switzerland.** Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.



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